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Fellowship

The Anatomy of a SMEAR

A Comment on the Fourteenth Report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education of the California State Legislature, and the Techniques of Misinterpretation and Misquotation on Which It Is Built

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CONTENTS

THE ANATOMY OF A SMEAR 1

Part I—Why Is a Smear? 5

Why the Investigation? (6); Recruiting in Schools (6); Do Pacifists Infiltrate? (7); Pacifism, War and Youth (9); The Real "Why" of the Report (10); Quest for the Headline (10); The Enemy is "the Left" (11); "The Left" = Communist (12); A "Sampling" of Books (13).

Part II—Technique 15

The Witness (18); Muste, Mayer and the Communist Manifesto (22); Page to Myrdal to Hiss (27); Doublethink Comes to Nonviolence (28); Donald Soper—the "Completely Indoctrinated" Pacifist (30); Allan Knight Chalmers and the Scottsboro Case (31); Scottsboro and Dilworth (32); "The Testimony of G. Bromley Oxnam Appears . . ." (33); The "Peace Now" Movement (34); The Amnesty Petition (35); The Case of the Mysterious Clergyman (35).

Part III—False Witness 37

The Peace Movement and United Fronts (37); The Democratic Faith (39).

Appendices 41

FELLOWSHIP

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THE ANATOMY OF A SMEAR

A study of the Fourteenth Report of the Investigating Committee on Education of the California State Senate

BY ALFRED HASSLER

Free men have found no alternative to tolerance for opposing political ideas. There is the beginning of the end of liberty when a difference of opinion becomes confused with treason or disloyalty. The strength of the parliamentary method is in the contest for men's hearts and minds, with both majority and minority content to abide by the result. Once the power of government is used to defame the character of public men and so crush the opposition, the parliamentary system begins to crumble and the seeds of dictatorship are sown.

*Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas**

N THE SPRING of this year there was released on the unsuspecting citizens of California an impressive 190-page document provocatively entitled "Patriotism or acifism, Which?" Labelled as a progress report on organized efforts to use our public schools and lleges for points of contact with outh by pacifist groups,"[1] it had een compiled by the Investigating Committee on Education of the California Senate, headed by Senator Nelson S. Dilworth. Its principal target, almost to the exclusion of other groups, was the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

What the net effect of the report will be it is hard to say. The *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, a Hearst newspaper, not unexpectedly greeted the publication with an unrestrained editorial under the heading, "Poisoning Patriotism." From the tone of the editorial, a stranger might have been excused for con-

* From: *An Almanac of Liberty* by illiam O. Douglas. Copyright 1954 by illiam O. Douglas, reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Co., Inc.
p. 3

cluding that pacifists had virtually taken over the California school system. Said one astonished FOR member: "We were somewhat discouraged over the slow progress we pacifists make in even getting people to listen to us. None of us had any idea we were as effective as the senators appear to have convinced themselves we are."

The publication of such a report inevitably is a source of damage to the groups and individuals with whom it deals, whether it is responsible or irresponsible, accurate or inaccurate. Even now, after the techniques and purposes of these investigating committees have been repeatedly dissected and exposed, the imprimatur of an official legislative body carries weight with millions of Americans. An atmosphere congenial to independent thought and responsible nonconformity—elements indispensable to genuine democracy—is further reduced: the dangers, in terms of employment and status, of being connected with a "cited" organization have been demonstrated too often to be easily dismissed. When the attack is leveled against peace organizations, attempting indiscriminately to link all peace activities with communism and subversion, the end result is to lessen the already limited participation of Americans in such activities, and to accentuate the trend to domination of policy by those who think in militaristic terms.

Such effects are probably somewhat diluted by a widespread familiarity with the tendency of some California legislative committees to apply the label of "subversive" to virtually anything committee members disapprove. The Dilworth Committee appears to have adopted as its model of behavior the discredited "Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities," which won its own variety of fame under the leadership of then-Senator Jack Tenney. Senator Dilworth was himself a member of the Tenney Committee from its inception through more than a decade of its existence. When the resentment over the Tenney Committee's excesses resulted in 1949 in reorganization and the withdrawal from it of Tenney himself, Senator Dilworth was one of the three members of the committee who did not follow its leader into exile.[2]

Tenney and the Presbyterians

There are other interesting similarities between the two committees. The Tenney Committee stubbed its collective toe when the irresponsibility of its methods finally brought down on it the wrath of respected and respectable forces in the community. One of the heaviest blows came with the adoption in June, 1948, of a resolution by the Presbyterian Synod of California, which "deplored":

> (a) The Committee's undemocratic hearings which result to a practical purposes in a trial by press without adequate defense of the accused. *(Although the 1951 Dilworth Report accuses, tries and finds guilty numerous individuals and organizations, not one of them was invited to appear in its own defense.)*
>
> (b) Publication of its very official-looking record book in a manner so completely edited according to the bias of the Committee as to make witnesses look ridiculous and insincere, and therefore guilty of the "red" charges. *(The Dilworth Committee called only one*

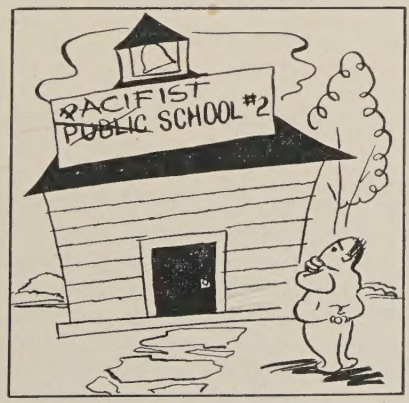
[2] *The Tenney Committee*, by Edward L. Barrett, Jr. Cornell U. Press, 1951. p. 14.

witness, but the official appearance of the Report, and editing of material "according to the bias of the Committee" are obvious.)

(c) Listing some of America's most outstanding and loyal citizens as fellow-travelers with the communists. *(The Presbyterians' 1948 resolution then listed the following names as representative of the "outstanding and loyal citizens" who had been slandered by the Tenney Committee:* **Bishop James C. Baker, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Charles S. Johnson, Mary McLeod Bethune, Frank P. Graham, Bishop Francis J. McConnell,** *Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Arthur Raper, Clarence Dykstra, Rev. James W. Bell,* **George M. Day, Rev. Paul C. Johnson,** *Rev. Wm. E. Lampe,* **Rev. Charles Clayton Morrison, Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, Rev. Ernest Fremont Tittle, Rev. William Lindsay Young, Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, Rev. George Buttrick,** *Dr. Monroe Deutsch, and Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin. Those whose names are printed in boldface type appear in the 1956 Dilworth Report in the same context, eighteen years later!)*

(d) Listing as fellow-travelers in 1948 people who, when Russia was our official ally in the desperate war years, worked for Soviet-American friendship. *(The Dilworth Report does the same.)*

(e) Smearing our Westminster Fellowship, American Friends Service Committee, labor unions and other organizations with the tar of "pink" for opposing Universal Military Training. *(Some of the organizations are different in the Dilworth Report, but the same position has been justification for the same "tar.")*



Dilworth's-eye view of a California school

The Synod's resolution concluded:

> **We recommend that Synod request the Legislature to replace Senator Tenney and his committee with more judicial minded men who will preserve democratic processes.** *(One of the members of the committee in question was the present chairman of the Investigating Committee on Education, Senator Dilworth.)*

The Report itself is a mishmash of unrelated quotations and references, charges vaguely stated or only implied, material taken out of context, and meaningless lists of names. It is a mishmash skilfully put together, however; careful study of the Report makes it difficult to escape the conclusion that it is designed to deceive rather than to inform, to confuse rather than to clarify, to smear rather than to report.

Legislators and their committees enjoy an immunity the ordinary citizen does not have. They can—and do — libel individuals and groups with no fear of being called to account in the courts. They can—and do—ignore the basic rules of evidence and flout elementary considerations of fair play. A reputation carefully and solidly built over a generation or more may be destroyed in an afternoon by a committee whose scruples have long since been sacrificed to a lust for headlines and political preferment.

Because this is so, this issue of

FELLOWSHIP is devoted to a study of this particular report of this particular legislative committee. The report is not so bad as some have been, but it is bad enough. In its employment of the standard techniques of smear it is typical of a procedure that is undermining not only the democratic faith of America but its morality as well.

It is not possible in a magazine of this size to consider every detail of a 190-page report. Despite the extensive resources credited to the Fellowship of Reconciliation by the Dilworth Committee, its budget does not permit publication of a document that would be a completely detailed reply. I have sought, however, to do as accurate and honest a job as possible within the limitations of the space available, and to consider those aspects of the Report that fairly represent the whole.

It is notable that the Report makes no reference to having consulted with, or called as a witness, any officer or staff member of the Fellowship. Indeed, only one witness appears to have been called at all: an unnamed youth who was attracted to the pacifist position at an institute sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, and at which an FOR staff member spoke. The youth subsequently, by his own testimony, recanted after being put under heavy pressure by his father and State Senator Jack Tenney, who persuaded him that he had been unduly influenced.

In other days it would have seemed only fair to allow a spokesman for the FOR to attempt to explain and justify such evidence as the committee had accumulated before publishing a damaging report. Because we had no desire to duplicate the Committee's failure to follow such a procedure, I sent copies of the first draft of this article to Senator Dilworth and to his colleagues on the committee, Senators J. Howard Williams, Hugh P. Donnelly, John A. Murdy, Jr., and Robert I. Montgomery.

However, although postal receipts demonstrated that the manuscript and letter were delivered to Senator Dilworth on July 27, and to three other members of the committee on that or the following day, no reply of any kind has been received .

ABOUT THE TITLE: Some readers may question the choice of the title of this issue. Isn't "smear" itself a kind of "smear word"? The editors were concerned about this question, too. They decided to use the word since in its proper meaning—a blot or defamation of character achieved by certain methods—it offered no appropriate synonym. The word, it was felt, carried no necessary connotation of anger or resentment, and no such connotation is intended. The **Anatomy of a Smear** is not primarily a defense of the FOR or of the pacifist movement. Its object is without malice, to examine a specific smear and to show how and why it was done.

WHY IS A SMEAR?

THE FUNCTION of a legislative committee historically is the acquisition of information in an area in which legislation may reasonably be thought to be necessary, and the recommendation of appropriate legislation to the parent body.

While many such committees have strayed far from this function in recent years, it is still relevant to inquire how an investigation into pacifism fits this frame of reference, why the Dilworth committee undertook the investigation, and how objective and unbiased the report really is.

The level of objectivity on which the Committee operated becomes apparent when the cover of its Report is opened. Pacifism has been recognized by the Congress of the United States, through its provisions for conscientious objectors, as a legitimate expression of the religious freedom guaranteed to citizens by the Constitution. It has been acknowledged by the World Council of Churches as a valid interpretation of the Christian gospel. Its adherents include some of the best known and most widely respected Americans, and its political analysis is accorded the sober respect of leading statesmen and writers. Yet the Dilworth Report blandly uses as the basis of its inquiry—"Patriotism or Pacifism, Which?"—the assumption that one cannot be both a pacifist and a lover of one's country.

And while the Report's *Introduction* begins with the disclaimer that "This is not a report about Communists . . . ," this disingenuous observation follows by seven pages the significant juxtaposition on the inside front cover of a paragraph from a (1954) publication of the FOR and another from a (1930) speech by Dimitry Manuilsky before the Lenin Institute of Political Science. Since the Manuilsky quotation refers to Soviet plans to launch "the most spectacular peace movement on record" as a means of lulling the capitalist nations to sleep, the implication of the arrangement is not difficult to find.[3]

[3] This Manuilsky "quotation" has been used before, in similar circumstances, without direct attribution as to source. Queried on one such occasion in 1955, the Chief of the Reference and Bibliography Division of the Library of Congress wrote that a "cursory examination of Manuilsky's works" had "failed to find any reference" to the quotation in question.

The Dilworth Report identified the quotation as having been published in "November, 1930, issue of *Pravda*." *Pravda*, of course, is a daily paper. A representative of FELLOWSHIP made a painstaking search through the November 1930 issues of Pravda on file at the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, and found no such reference.

Why the Investigation?

Not a report on Communists, says the Dilworth Committee, but "a factual story of the current efforts of pacifist organizations to contact pupils in our high schools and colleges and proselytize among them for converts to refuse to serve in the armed forces of the United States."

Why? Because it is illegal to be a pacifist, or to teach pacifism?

"The committee recognizes the right of any person to formulate their (sic) own opinions on patriotism, military service and all policies of government, and their right to express those opinions,"[4] begins the section called *Conclusions.*

Because pacifists have manipulated the school system of California to propagandize?

Few pacifists would quarrel with the right of a legislative committee to investigate a situation in which it suspected that a special-interest group—religious or otherwise—was attempting to infiltrate the school system of a state or community, manipulating teachers or textbooks in the interests of its own propaganda. The free schools of a democracy are intended to impart knowledge without prejudice, and to develop the ability to reason intelligently, clearly and without bias or fear. Anything that interferes with the ability of the schools to perform these functions is a legitimate subject for governmental investigation.

Indeed, pacifists would go further and suggest at least two fruitful areas for such investigation by committees like the Dilworth group.

The first of these is the massive infiltration of the country's school systems by the propaganda and recruiting wings of the armed forces. This investigation should pay special attention to the series of thirteen motion pictures entitled "Are You Ready for Service?" developed privately by Coronet Films with the cooperation of the Pentagon. Both Coronet Films and the military leadership of the country have put pressure on educators to use these films in the country's high schools, and they have had some success in spite of the fact that the films present an almost entirely "military" interpretation of world affairs and one that would be deplored by many teachers of social studies.

Recruiting in Schools

Along with the Coronet films, Senator Dilworth and his colleagues might well look into the use of recruiting officers in the public schools, and particularly in the latest project, called "Your Life Plans and the Armed Forces." In this last, the Pentagon is attempting currently to make indoctrination for military service a required course in every high school in the country. Here, too, the textbooks in use present a limited and dangerous oversimplification of world tensions, and one that is at odds with the thinking of some of the country's best-informed (pacifist and nonpacifist) thinkers and writers.

As the Dilworth Report points out, "attendance at the public schools is not voluntary," and the state has an obligation to parents

[4] Report, p. 141.

oncerning the nature of the instruction given their children. Many American parents would rebel at having their sons indoctrinated willy-nilly with a military point of view and would maintain that this is not the proper function of the schools.

The second possible area for exploration by the Dilworth Committee might be even more rewarding. It would involve the various pressure groups, private and governmental, that have forced removal from school and public libraries of important but "controversial" books, gagged teachers in their attempts to educate pupils for the real world in which they live, and prevented any classroom discussion of such basically important subjects as the nature and teachings of communism, the organization and functioning of the United Nations, etc.

Do Pacifists Infiltrate?

Is there evidence that the Fellowship of Reconciliation—or pacifists generally—engage in such tactics of infiltration and manipulation? The Committee's *Introduction* and *Conclusions* seem to suggest that this is the case, but one searches the body of the Report in vain for convincing evidence. Publications of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are quoted to demonstrate that the FOR works with youth of high school and college age, that FOR speakers appear from time to time at college chapel services and (more rarely) high school assembly programs, and that

The Committee "Corrects" A Report

A preoccupation with "subversion" in the schools is not new for the Dilworth Committee: the nine reports it has issued since June 27, 1949, have all dealt with one or another aspect of the same issue. The Eleventh Report, dated June 9, 1953 and called "Opposition to Loyalty," endeavors to identify all opposition to loyalty oaths and similar "subversive control measures" as Communist-inspired and directed.

Among the many non-Communist groups thus characterized, there appeared six references to the Fellowship of Reconciliation. None were of major importance, but all carried the inference also that the FOR was one of these "leftist-controlled" organizations.

In response, the Rev. John M. Swomley, Jr., executive secretary of the FOR, wrote to Senator Dilworth protesting the inference. "If you want to criticize us because of our pacifism," wrote Mr. Swomley, "that would of course be your right. On the other hand we hope you will want to correct the report on such matters as our stand with respect to Communism."

The Swomley letter was never acknowledged, nor did the Committee invite any officer or staff member to testify. Nevertheless, reference to the Swomley letter appears early in the Fourteenth Report, with the inference that the present investigation was set in motion in honest response to Mr. Swomley's request. In the absence of clearly stated charges, the opportunity to present the organization's case in person, and all other safeguards of a fair hearing, the idea is not likely to convince many readers.

youthful members of FOR sometimes organize campus FOR groups, or, as the Committee prefers, cells. Yet these are all legitimate activities, part of the American tradition of free speech and discussion. Further than this, the Report suggests two other pieces of "evidence":

(1) On page 7, the report observes that six of "the most treasured sayings of our great American patriots" no longer appear in school textbooks with the frequency that they once did.[5]

In 1920, says the Committee, these six sayings were quoted 45 times in fourteen history texts, while in forty modern texts, apparently, they were quoted a total of only six times, with two omitted entirely.[6]

"This trend," the Report observes, "may be traceable to a considerable degree to the efforts of the organizations described in this report." Since there is no evidence adduced to support this statement, and indeed no further reference made to the matter, the case seems somewhat weak.[7]

(2) Much later in the document there is reference to the appointment of a former conscientious objector to the principalship of a large school in California. Although there is no suggestion that the unnamed educator was guilty of either misconduct or inefficiency, the Committee felt that the situation "involves matters of such basic importance to our state and Nation . . . that it should be brought to the attention of the Legislature." The basis for this feeling appears to be found in this paragraph:

> When he was an applicant for his new and more important principalship scores of letters were received by the school board and district superintendent urging them to employ him. There was evidence of organized support from outside the district. Such support is not available to a veteran of Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima or the grim and deadly contests with the Nazi legions in Europe.[8]

The implication that World War II conscientious objectors somehow benefit materially as a result of their "war record," as contrasted with ex-GIs, will entertain COs who have watched their ex-GI friends get free college educations,

[5] The six sayings are: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country" (Nathan Hale); "I have not yet begun to fight" (John Paul Jones); "We have met the enemy and they are ours" (Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry); "Don't give up the ship" (Captain James Lawrence); "Give me liberty or give me death" (Patrick Henry); "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to defend it" (Daniel Webster).

[6] The word "apparently" is included in this sentence because the Report with characteristic unconcern compares the frequency of quotation of all six sayings in 1920 with that of five in "modern texts." No figures are given for the Webster quotation, which may well appear more frequently than the others, in the latter group.

[7] During the heyday of the McCarthy investigations, some critics referred to these phenomena as the "triumph of the know-nothings"—the dominance of a frightening anti-intellectualism that regards learning itself as vaguely subversive. An example of what these critics had in mind is found in this section of the Dilworth Report, in the hostility apparent in the observation that "American history has been buried in a mass of 'social studies.'"

[8] p. 143

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About the attempts to "reach" them, pacifists—and many others—would say several things:

First, war and violence constitute the over-arching problem of our time. That problem has been brought into critical focus with the development of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, the existence of which actually threatens the continued life of the species on earth. Certainly in such a time, humans cannot continue allegiance to outmoded concepts of struggle, but for their survival's sake must examine the possibilities of non-violent alternatives to war.

Second, "patriotism" is not defined by all Americans in terms of an exclusive nationalism. Love of country is not necessarily inconsistent with world brotherhood, and the state has no more right to restrict its school pupils' concepts to the Dilworth definition of patriotism than it has to restrict their knowledge of geography to the western hemisphere.

Third, the essence of the democratic faith is embodied in the concept of the free market place of ideas. The schools should be a training ground for this aspect of democratic life, working with open

The Limits on Freedom

"Education is a kind of continuing dialogue, and a dialogue assumes, in the nature of the case, different points of view.

"The civilization which I work and which I am sure every American is working toward, could be called a civilization of the dialogue, where instead of shooting one another when you differ, you reason things out together.

"In this dialogue, then, you cannot assume that you are going to have everybody thinking the same way or feeling the same way. It would be unprogressive if that happened. The hope of eventual development would be gone. More than that, of course, it would be very boring. . . .

"Now, the limits on this freedom cannot be merely prejudice, because although our prejudices might be perfectly satisfactory, the prejudices of our successors, or of those who are in a position to bring pressure to bear on the institution, might be subversive in the real sense, subverting the American doctrine of free thought and free speech."

Robert M. Hutchins, before a House Committee, 1952

minds seeking truth, not striving to encase youthful intelligence in the rigidities of old fears and narrow self-interest.

Fourth, the proposal that conscientious objectors be barred from employment in the school system is a proposal to punish men for their private opinions, without regard to their acts. This is a notion that has gained much currency in the last twenty years, but is still abhorrent to those who love freedom.

Finally, the FOR makes no attempt to manipulate school systems or personnel for propagandistic reasons, and would heartily support the Dilworth or any other committee in a serious attempt to root out all such efforts, including those of the armed forces. Parenthetically, it might be observed that pacifists, almost with exception, are individualists. No pacifist teacher would accept instructions from the FOR as to where he should seek a job or how he should behave in it, even if the FOR were to proffer them!

The Real "Why" of the Report

I have devoted considerable space thus far to a discussion of what might conceivably be a legitimate concern of the Committee: the possible infiltration and manipulation of the school system for propagandistic purposes — much more space, proportionately, than did the Committee. For the fact is that this is only the hook on which the investigation could conveniently be hung. The Report itself is a lengthy, biased, manipulated inquiry into the pacifist *idea,* and an attempt to label it as not only unpatriotic but un-Christian,[9] actively subversive, and a tool of Russian communism.

The job is done in the style that such investigative groups have developed, and is thoroughly conventional in its use of the quotation-out-of-context, guilt-by-association-thrice-removed, guilt-by-accusation, and the Orwellian technique of doublethink (see "Black Is White"—page 28).

Some of the examples of these techniques are examined in Part II of this article. Before we get into that, however, it is worth considering what lies behind so carefully contrived a "smear."

The Quest for the Elusive Headline

Any speculation as to motives must begin with the observation that publicity is the lifeblood of those who seek political preferment, and that there are few safer and surer ways of getting publicity these days than by a well-advertised pursuit of the wily subversive. When to "safe" and "sure" may be added "easy," since such an "investigation" demands very little in the way of real research and study, its appeal to the legislator who is not too concerned about the niceties of a fair hearing may be understood.

That this is more than an expression of political cynicism is apparent from the careers of a number of the country's more prominent Communist-hunters, and particularly from that of Senator Dil-

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[9] The Fellowship of Reconciliation includes in its membership over a thousand Protestant ministers and a lesser number of clergymen of the Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths. One of its members, Bishop Santo Uberto Barbieri, is one of the seven presidents of the World Council of Churches; others are some of the best-known theologians and ministers alive. Yet the Dilworth Report, speaking of the faith they profess, writes (p. 25): "The committee is most reluctant to include in this report some of the sacrilegious misuse of the name of Jesus and His Christian teachings."

worth's former mentor, Senator Jack Tenney. Senator Tenney, as has been noted earlier, was undone by his assumption that he could call *anybody* subversive and get away with it. By 1949, having added labor unions, prominent clergymen, and some of his fellow legislators to his list of Communist dupes, he discovered that he had gone too far. He was forced off the committee and subsequently lost his seat in the Senate.

But Senator Tenney had not ways been so ardent a Red-hunter. On the contrary, he had been elected to the Legislature as a "left-wing" candidate on the Democratic ticket in 1936. Before and after that event, he had himself been more than casually identified with "the Left." As president of Local 47, AFM, he supported the Labor Non-Partisan League, the Spanish Republican Government, and the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. For the latter, indeed, he spoke at a dinner at which dissolution of the Dies Committee, daddy of all "un-American" committees, was demanded. Indeed, Tenney himself was charged before the Dies Committee with having been a member of the Communist Party, and was listed in that group's reports as a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy and as a Los Angeles sponsor of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.[10]

To what extent the conclusion that subversive-hunting was a political gold mine determined former Senator Tenney's abrupt about-face in 1939 and his subsequent actions is beyond our ken. There is irony in the fact, however, that the 1938 report of the House Un-American Activities (Dies) Committee upon which the present Dilworth Report depends heavily also named one Jack Tenney as having "left-wing" affiliations! So complicated does it become when the attempt is made to demonstrate a man's 1956 attitudes by citing his 1936 record!

The Enemy is "the Left"

But whatever the importance of the elusive headline in giving the various "un-American" committees their reason for being, most people by now have come to realize that there is usually a more fundamental influence at work also. This is the basic hostility that members of such committees ordinarily display toward the whole conglomerate of political conviction gathered under the general head of "the Left."

There was a time when "the Left" meant something reasonably precise in the vocabulary of politics. In the French and other European parliaments the term referred to the members sitting to the left of the presiding officer, and who made up the so-called reformist and socialist forces .These were the groups who sought to substitute economic planning for a *laissez faire* economy, who supported government intervention in the nation's economic life in order to ameliorate the evils of outright ex-

[10] *The Tenney Committee*, by E. L. Barrett, Jr.

ploitation, and who envisioned the development of an international movement of workers dedicated to the abolition of war and the building of a socialist society.

With the fragmentation of parties and ideologies, "the Left" has become less precise in its meaning. This is especially true in the United States, whose political development has differed considerably from that of European countries. "The Left" still largely represents those who would use government as an instrument of social change to reform society, but within this group are the Communist Left, the non-Communist Left, and the anti-Communist Left; the pacifist Left and the non-pacifist Left; and others who defy easy classification. Between some of these groups lie deep chasms of disagreement on fundamental issues. It is unlikely, for example, that even a California legislator could be more bitterly opposed to Stalinism than a believer in democratic socialism, for whom the Stalinist represents the arch-betrayer of his cause.

"The Left" = Communist

For the Martin Dies, Joe McCarthys, Jack Tenneys and Nelson Dilworths, nevertheless, "the Left," including almost everything from anarchists to Eisenhower Republicans, means "Communists" or "Communist dupes," and so serves as a convenient and all-inclusive cussword adequate to describe virtually all their political opponents. "Leftist" similarly is an equally potent adjective with which to damn all movements, individuals and legislation with which they disagree. Thus proposals and programs that in various degrees do represent the kind of general approach that might come out of the political thinking of "the Left"—such things as TVA, government-sponsored health insurance, or even a modest public-housing program—by being labelled "left-wing" take on the sinister aspect of some undefined connection with communism. So, too, in the lexicon of the part of the white South embodied in the Citizens' Councils, even the movement to desegregate the schools is "leftist," and so is assumed to have originated somehow behind the walls of the Kremlin, rather than in America's own

> ". . . Individuals, like nations, may cooperate in a common cause over a period of months or years though their ultimate aims do not coincide. Alliances for limited objectives are well known. Certainly those who joined forces with Russia to defeat the Nazis may not be said to have made an alliance to spread the cause of Communism. An individual who makes contributions to feed hungry men does not become 'affiliated' with the Communist cause because those men are Communists. A different result is not necessarily indicated if aid is given to or received from a proscribed organization in order to win a legitimate objective in a domestic controversy. Whether intermittent or repeated, the act or acts tending to prove 'affiliation' must be of that quality which indicates an adherence to or a furtherance of the purposes or objectives of the proscribed organization as distinguished from mere cooperation with it in lawful activities. The act or acts must evidence a working alliance to bring the program to fruition. . . ."
>
> —U.S. Supreme Court, June, 1945

proud heritage of equal opportunity for all!

Thus it is that the Dilworth Report, having begun with the question of whether pacifism has infiltrated the California schools and moved to an unacknowledged attempt to synonymize pacifism with communism, by page 34 has expanded its area of investigation to the whole "left wing" of American politics. It does so with an examination of the Workers Defense League.

The WDL, the Report observes, grew out of activities and interests of members of the FOR. (The fact that the League was organized twenty years ago, and that the FOR never has exercised control over any of its activities, policies or personnel, failed to impress the Committee.) And what is wrong with the Workers Defense League? The Dilworth Committee turns to its bible, the 1938 report of the House Un-American Activities (Dies) Committee:

> Just as the Communist Party has its defense movement, the International Labor Defense, so also has the Socialist Party, the Workers Defense League. The latter organization was formed in May, 1936, by leading members of the Socialist Party. . . .

Having got this far, one would suppose that the Committee's investigator would have observed that socialism, if not entirely respectable in the United States, is at least quite legal and non-subversive. American Socialists are few in number, but they are generally solid citizens, active in good works and—when they are as prominent as Norman Thomas—often heard on lecture platforms before audiences of equally solid and frequently Republican fellow Americans. No Socialist has been indicted under the Smith Act, and most Socialists, while deeply concerned to defend the civil liberties of Communists, are otherwise among the most strenuous anti-Communists extant.

Having satisfactorily identified the Workers Defense League as "Socialist," therefore, one would suppose that the investigator would tear up his (or her)[11] notes on the League and turn to more rewarding avenues of exploration. Instead there follow six pages of typically confused and confusing "evidence," consisting mostly of the names of individuals who have been connected with the League and *their* other connections, all going to prove that a good many Socialists *have* supported the League, and hence that it is indisputably "leftist."

(How this reasoning twists tortuously back on itself is demonstrated by one reference in this section, where the argument that the WDL is "left-wing" is reinforced by identifying with it an individual who also had "been active in left-wing circles, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation. . . .")[12]

A "Sampling" of Books

There are other evidences of a fundamental approach that characterizes as "leftist" and "un-American" attitudes that are held in respect by leading Americans, including Presidents, Supreme Court Justices and members of Congress.

For example, the Report undertakes to give a "sampling" of publications produced, advertised or

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[11] Listed in the Report under "Research and Investigation" is Mrs. Marianne R. Carr.

[12] p. 35

distributed by the Fellowship.[13] The Fellowship literature list from which the "sampling" was taken included a total of 110 titles in nine different categories. Was it coincidence that the Committee's "sampling" of ten titles included all nine of the titles under "Race Relations," only one of the 30 titles under "Pacifism," and none at all from such categories as "International and Social," "Militarism," and "Religion"? Was this preoccupation with the subject of race a calculated attempt to appeal to some readers' prejudices, or was it an unconscious display of the investigators' own attitudes?

This "sampling" did not appear in the context of any discussion of race or interracial activities. On the contrary, the paragraph just preceding it notes that the FOR "*publish and distribute books on pacifism.*" How did it happen then that this sampling did not include titles of such books, actually published by the FOR, as *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism, The Power of Nonviolence,* or *Toward a Christian International?* Particularly, considering the Committee's concern for possible pro-Communist leanings, how did the "sampling" come to omit a title like *What Would Pacifists Do About Hitler, Stalin, or the Next Dictator?,* admittedly a mouthful but also a pretty clear indication of actual FOR feeling about the Soviet system?

Perhaps the clearest indication of the kind of political orientation that produces such reports is to be found in two of the excerpts from the aforementioned 1938 report of the Dies Committee quoted with obvious approval in the Dilworth Report. The first of these, referring to one long-defunct "leftist" organization (having no relation to FOR), says:

> It also aims to spread revolutionary doctrines among colonial people and persuade them to thow off the control of the parent country. Should they do so they might easily be conquered by the Communists.[14]

The second is even more explicit:

> "Fascism is the deadly enemy of communism and often appears when communism threatens to gain supreme power. It is the self-protection of the people against communism after their own form of government has proved too lenient or ineffective. This is why Communists hate Fascists."[15]

The right to express even such anti-democratic sentiments is implicit in the idea of freedom, and civil libertarians would defend with vigor the right of private citizen Dilworth to speak them without let or hindrance. When such attitudes direct the course of an official legislative investigation, however, and color its reports, then their presence becomes a matter of serious injustice. The Fourteenth Report of the Dilworth Committee must be read, therefore, not as an objective inquiry into fact, but as a careful and calculated attempt to damage the reputation of organized pacifist groups, and to mislead the public into a false impression of the position and purposes of these groups in relation to communism.

In other words, as a smear!

Let us see, now, how the smear is accomplished.

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[13] p. 49

[14] p. 150

[15] p. 151

TECHNIQUE

THERE ARE a number of techniques of smear that have become "classic" in the past two decades. Among these are:

The quotation out of context. This is the selection from something the victim has written or said of a fragment that is not representative of the whole statement's meaning and that frequently conveys precisely the opposite impression. Suppose that a witness were to say to such a committee: "During my college days thirty years ago I joined a Communist party cell and made quite a study of Marxism, but I became thoroughly disillusioned in the early 'thirties, left the Party, and have been an ardent anti-Communist ever since." Then suppose that the Committee's report, referring to this witness, contains only the comment: "The witness admitted activity in a Communist Party cell and asserted that he had made an extensive study of Marxist literature." It would be true that the witness had said almost exactly these things, but in failing to present the *whole* truth the "quotation" actually becomes a lie, conveying the opposite meaning from what the witness intended.

This is the reason, of course, for the careful safeguards erected in regular court procedures, so that witnesses must swear to tell not only "the truth," but "the whole truth," while the accused must have his opportunity to correct misstatements or set them in the proper perspective. It is these safeguards that are disdained by legislative committees that set themselves up as prosecutor, judge and jury.

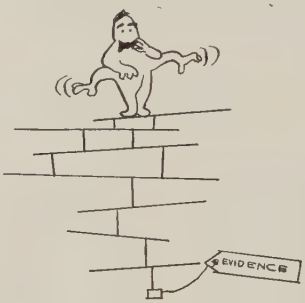
The *reference out of context.* This is a special favorite of investigators in the field of alleged Communist affiliation. It assumes that life is static, that neither circumstances nor opinions change,[16] and that the calendar has no significance except as a handy aid in locating previous Committee reports. This technique takes for granted that there is really no difference between a friendly attitude toward Russia during the 1930's, or when the Soviet was allied with the U.S. during World War II, and a similarly friendly attitude in 1956.

The *selective reference.* Assuming that the organization being investigated has done something—issued a statement, initiated a petition—that is widely reported in the general press, the technique of selective reference dictates that any references to news stories on the subject be to the *Daily Worker* (or, in California, the *People's World*) rather than to the *New York Times* or *San Francisco Ex-*

[16] There are exceptions here, of course. Communists are assumed to be wholly untrustworthy except (a) when their publications are quoted *against* the "defendant" and (b) when they recant and turn informers. In these cases, their veracity is assumed to be beyond question.

aminer, even though the stories are exactly the same. Following this, the thoughtful inclusion of a couple of otherwise irrelevant items designed to demonstrate clearly the Communist affiliation of the *People's World,* and another connection has been established.

The *shaky syllogism.* This also is a favorite of the "un-American" committees. Its general development is something like this: *X, who is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, once allowed his name to be used by the Citizens Committee for More Homes; Communists were active in the CCMH; therefore the Fellowship of Reconciliation is controlled by Communists.* This syllogism, in even wobblier form, appears frequently in the Dilworth Report, thus: *X, who is a member of FOR, opposes the McCarran Act (or UMT, or the House Un-American Activities Committee); the Communists also oppose the McCarran Act; therefore . . . etc.*



Shaky Syllogism

The introduction of the *irrelevantly sinister.* The very fact that 190 pages have been accumulated, allegedly in the form of "evidence" that pacifists infiltrate the schools of California for subversive purposes, is ominous. Relatively few of those who see or hear of the Report will study it carefully; hence the Committee's case can be bolstered by including material that has nothing to do with the subject of the inquiry but that has a satisfyingly sinister look.

Thus the Dilworth Report winds up with twelve solid pages reproducing an unfavorable judgment of a District Court of Appeals in the case of five teachers who had been fired from their jobs for refusing to say whether or not they were Communists. No connection between the teachers and the pacifist movement is demonstrated or even claimed: in fact, no other reference to any of the five or to the case appears anywhere else in the Report.[17]

Similarly the Report includes 3½ pages devoted to a speech made by an Australian physician to the California State Assembly on "The Diagnosis, Prognosis and Treatment, of the Disease of Communism." Reading the speech inspires the profound hope that Dr. Schwarz is better equipped to treat his patients' physical ailments than to deal with the world's political problems, but the point here is that the speech itself has nothing to do with the purported subject of the inquiry!

Let us see how some of these techniques appear in the Dilworth Report on pacifist infiltration into California schools.

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[17] The statute under which the teachers were prosecuted is known as the Dilworth Act. In the light of the Dilworth Report on pacifism, it is significant that the Dilworth Act poses as the key test of Communist affiliation the question: "Do you personally advocate the forceful or violent overthrow of the Government of the United States, or of any state or political subdivision?" Whatever else may be said of pacifists, they most assuredly do not advocate that anything be done by "forceful or violent" means.

Of the 190 pages in the published Report, the title pages, Index and the two items referred to just above, take up 34 pages.

Of the remaining 156 pages, more than 20 are taken up by quotations from the eighteen-year-old report of the Special (Dies) Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives; 5 pages from the 1948 report of the Tenney Committee; 6 pages from later reports of the Tenney Committee; and 3 pages from various reports of other "un-American" committees. *None of these offers a single piece of specific evidence bearing on the question of whether pacifists manipulate or infiltrate public schools.*

This leaves 122 pages unaccounted for. Of these, 27 reproduce sections from publications, letters, etc., produced by the national FOR, while seven quote from newsletters and posters of local FOR groups. mostly in southern California. These fall into three categories:

(1) Quotations out of context, designed to demonstrate the "leftist" motivations, actions and personnel of the FOR;

(2) Quotations designed to demonstrate that the FOR seeks to attract young people, and that it helps to organize youth groups whenever possible;

(3) Quotations that give an accurate, if incomplete, picture of what pacifists believe and do.

Interestingly enough, these last come for the most part in the section of the Report headed "Youth Section—Fellowship of Reconciliation," and, taken alone, might be expected to have a healthy effect in spreading the pacifist message. Even these, however, must be considered as "quotations out of context," since the overall effect of the Report is to identify these legitimate expressions of pacifist thinking with "semi-secret cells"[18] and a Communist-dominated apparatus.

Besides these, the Report devotes 20 of its remaining 88 pages to miscellaneous news stories and other quotations (5 pages of them from Communist sources), and 13 more to reproductions of "exhibits." These last deserve some description:

Page 47—A poster of the United Student Peace Committee, calling for a "strike against war" in colleges and universities. Date: April 22, 1937.

Page 50—A letter from Olga K. Robinson, who is otherwise unidentified, on a letterhead of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The letter was addressed "Dear Senator" and expressed opposition to Senate Bill No. 2003 as an attack on civil liberties. One wonders what the opposition of a branch of the Women's International League to a proposed piece of legislation has to do with the alleged infiltration of California schools!

Pages 76-8—Three pages of newspaper clippings of pre-World War II vintage dealing with student anti-war demonstrations, Mrs. Roosevelt's withdrawal from the American Youth Congress, and the banning of some otherwise unidentified "subversive literature" by the Monrovia school board. The connection here is even more obscure, and since the text does not explain the clippings, will remain so for most readers.

Page 87—A reproduction of a letter from the national office of the FOR to its members dealing

[18] p. 67

with the 1954 Food-for-China campaign.

Pages 90-1—Reproductions of mimeographed notices of meetings to be held by the Southern California FOR in the Wesley Methodist Church in Los Angeles.

Page 93—Reproduction of a letter sent by the FOR to its members, and signed by the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick. This letter dealt with the need for continued resistance to Universal Military Training.

Page 121—Reproduction of an official judgment of a Federal District Court in California granting probation to a CO convicted of refusing induction into the armed forces.

Page 135—Reproduction of a letter on the letterhead of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign-Born, addressed to "all California legislators," opposing the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act. An honorary officer of this Committee, as listed on its letterhead, is also a member of FOR; beyond this, there is again no connection apparent.

Page 161—Reproduction of an old Art Young cartoon from the front page of *People's World Magazine* for December 23, 1955. In its day the cartoon achieved a measure of fame. It is in the form of a poster, offering a reward for information "leading to the apprehension of Jesus Christ" who is "wanted for sedition, criminal anarchy, vagrancy, and conspiring to overthrow the established government." According to the Dies Committee report, this cartoon was published in an unspecified issue between 1928 and 1938 of *Economic Justice*, the "atheistic bulletin" of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Again, the reader may ask himself why an investigation into pacifist activities in California schools should concern itself with a cartoon published twenty years ago in a nonpacifist bulletin for adults and more recently in a Communist journal, but having nothing to do with either pacifism or education.

Page 162—Reproduction of a letter on the letterhead of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, addressed to a John E. Waters of Madison, Wisconsin, and apparently rejecting an offer by Mr. Waters to allow the Foundation to help him with some unspecified attack on the Soviet Union. The letter, to which no other reference is made, is dated February 16, 1933. Its probable function is to demonstrate that names of a number of FOR members appeared on the letterhead. Since the NRLF published *Economic Justice,* which once published a cartoon that twenty years later appeared in a Communist newspaper, it thus becomes clear that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is a Communist front![19]

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[19] For those who are curious, the (nonpacifist) "Honorary Presidents" of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, as they appear on the same letterhead, were J. E. Hagerty, president of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems and director of the School of Social Administration, Ohio State University; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and Bishop Francis J. McConnell, former president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Among the 130 other names on the letterhead were those of Jane Addams; Reinhold and Richard Niebuhr, two of the country's foremost Christian theologians; John C. Bennett, now dean of Union Theological Seminary; Harold Fey, Paul Hutchinson and Charles Clayton Morrison, editor and former editors of *Christian Century,* and many other names familiar to Protestant Christians. These were the sponsors of the "atheistic" *Economic Justice!* Of them, Jane Addams was a pacifist; Harold Fey and Reinhold Niebuhr have served as executive secretaries of F.O.R. Dr. Niebuhr abandoned the pacifist position before World War II and has since been its most forceful theological critic.

The Witness

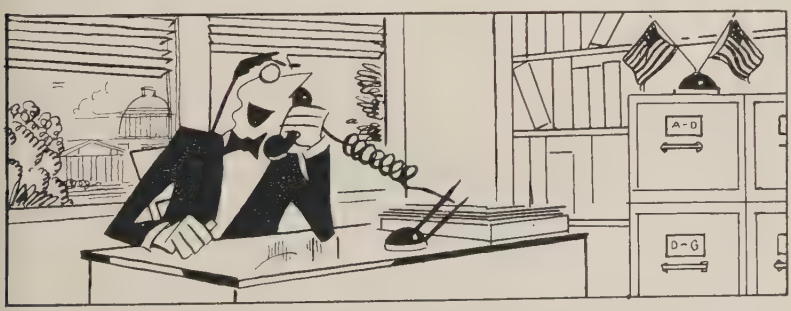
Apart from these largely irrelevant quotations and "exhibits," the Committee had its own undocumented assumptions and conclusions, and one unnamed witness. It may be worth considering the testimony of this witness, which, with asides by the Committee, occupies a total of 21 pages of the Report. (It should be noted that the "asides" took up 13 of these pages.)

The witness, who remains unidentified throughout, appeared before the Committee on September 27, 1955, to testify to what happened to him at a High School Institute on International Relations conducted by the American Friends Service Committee at a private school in southern California, June 26 to July 4, 1949. Summarized, the testimony of the witness adds up to about the following:

He went to the institute as a delegate from his church and with help from the World Friendship Club in his high school, of which he was president. The World Friendship Club was recognized by the high school administration, met at the high school, and had a faculty advisor. The Committee elicited the further fact that the state chairman of the World Friendship Clubs was a teacher named Mrs. Blanche Bettington, and the Report notes that Mrs. Bettington had been questioned by the Tenney Committee in 1946, as follows:

> Chairman Tenney: Are you acquainted with Carey McWilliams?
>
> Mrs. Bettington: I don't know Carey McWilliams. He spoke at a meeting at our school once, but I don't know him personally. I have read his books.
>
> Q. How did he happen to speak at that meeting?
>
> A. One of the World Friendship Club meetings at our school, Carey McWilliams was invited to speak with the permission of our school administration.
>
> Q. What is the name of that organization?
>
> A. It is the World Friendship Club.
>
> Q. Do you have anything to do with that organization?
>
> A. Yes, sir. I happen to be one of the sponsors at the Canoga Park High School.

THE LINK



"The Association for American Aspirations? Must be subversive! One of its prominent members is . . ."

Q. Where are the meetings (World Friendship Club) held?

A. The meetings have to be held in schools since they were under the supervision of the downtown office. We cannot hold them outside of the schools.[20]

To this illuminating reference, the Dilworth Report adds bleakly that "Mrs. Bettington testified that Earl Robinson had also spoken before the club." The reader is left at this point to his own devices, since there is no further identification of Earl Robinson, nor indication of why his appearance before the Club should have excited the Committee. (Whatever else he may be, Earl Robinson is not an FOR member or a pacifist.)

The Report notes further that the Tenney Committee, apparently on the basis of such damning testimony as the above, had concluded that Mrs. Bettington and another teacher "slanted their teachings and discussions . . . for the purpose of indoctrinating [their] students with Communistic philosophy, disrespect for the capitalistic system of the Government of the United States and for the further purpose of building respect and reverence for the cruel dictatorship of the Soviet Union."

Bear in mind that Mrs. Bettington (who, it is noted, is still teaching in a California high school), had nothing to do with the AFSC Institute and is not identified as a pacifist. Her only involvement, apparently, was that she announced the Institute and suggested that those students who could attend it do so.

The Institute itself, according to the witness' notes, followed the usual pattern of such affairs. Speakers, not all of whom were pacifists, presented insights on the situation in various parts of the world, and encouraged discussion among the students. Fifty-six students were present.

One speaker was then-FOR staff member Bayard Rustin, who presented the pacifist position, on which subject the Committee had this interchange:

> The Witness: . . . the way they presented it, it seemed to be the only way that we could survive if we would do away with all our weapons, including our atomic weapons, and adopt this policy of complete pacifism.

[20] p. 100

". . . Anvil J. Azimuth, the novelist, who was an editorial contributor for . . ."

Senator Williams: Let me interrupt you right at this point.

The Witness: Yes, sir.

Senator Williams: When you say that they presented this as you have outlined, that we do away with our arms and atomic weapons and so forth, were they striking directly at the United States or was that on a world basis?

The Witness: That was on a personal basis, that we as individuals should-it was never stated in so many words that we collectively as Americans should do it. But we were the leaders that were supposed to take this word back, and many of us did.

Senator Williams: Well, now, just a minute. I am getting confused. Then as I interpret that statement, Mr. Rustin then seems to think that the people are the government; is that right? The Government doesn't do away with the arms; it is the individual people?

The Witness: Well, it would be —my opinion would be that he meant we as individuals should start the ball rolling. It's just like a snowball going downhill.

Senator Williams: But it would eventually wind up that the government would—

Senator Dilworth: Well, if enough people would refuse to bear arms, it would disable the government.

Senator Williams: Yes, I see. I was trying to get the continuity.

Senator Dilworth: That is one of the continuing objectives of the Communist party. It always has been.[21]

The witness had a personal chat with Bayard Rustin, and later sent in to the FOR a membership application.

"And ever since then," the witness continued, "I have been on their mailing list. And I have never paid dues into it. And I have been asked to. . . ."

The witness then turned over "one hundred items of literature" which he had allegedly received from the FOR, including 1955 issues of FELLOWSHIP and other recently printed materials. (It should be noted, though it is not important, that it would be highly unusual for someone who had never sent in a contribution or subscription to receive FELLOWSHIP for six years, let alone other material that is customarily distributed only on a purchase basis.)

The witness returned home, where his father was shocked by his flirtation with pacifism and took him to lunch with Senator

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[21] p. 83-4

". . . the Bulletin of British Ballisticists, whose president in 1928 was . . ."

Tenney. The boy was convinced by Tenney that he had made a mistake, but added plaintively—

> . . . My faculty adviser at school, after I had been given more information by Senator Tenney, after everything had been clarified to me—my faculty adviser at school refused to accept that opinion at all and believed then, and as far as I know, does today, that there was nothing wrong with the information that was given us at the institute. I have received the same reception from my minister.[22]

It is not beyond belief that even the Committee recognized that this was not very strong stuff. At any rate, little is made of the solitary witness' testimony except to quote liberally from the publications he reportedly turned over to it. Let us see now what use was made of such quotations, for here we get to the heart of the smear.

[22] p. 98

1. The Strange Case of A. J. Muste, Milton Mayer and the Communist Manifesto

A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the FOR, was once called by *Time* magazine "America's Number One pacifist." He is a Presbyterian minister who was a pacifist during World War I, became a labor leader and a Trotskyist Communist and leader of the American Workers Party for a while after that war, and then returned to the Christian church and pacifism when he became disillusioned with communism. Though nominally retired, he remains a key figure in both American and world pacifism, and in the activities of the Fellowship. It is hardly strange, then, that A. J. Muste's name, like Abou ben Adhem's, should lead all the rest when the Dilworth Report spits on its hands and lays hold of the subject of "Key Personalities."[23]

[23] p. 14

". . . a member of the Committee to Confound Conformists, which is reported by the Un-American Activities Committee of the Seattle Branch of Patriotic Aunts and Uncles of America to have sent a petition to the mayor on behalf of . . ."

Also, although "A. J." repudiated communism in 1937 (while Senator Dilworth's erstwhile chairman Jack Tenney still was involved with the Stalinists), and although all of the story of his flirtation with communism has been public property since then, it is hardly surprising that the Report lights on this material with glad cries of triumph. The ethical level on which the assault is conducted is clarified in the very first sentence:

> Abraham J. (A. J.) Muste, for many years executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, now listed as secretary emeritus. "Used to be a preacher*** before he went straight," according to FELLOWSHIP, the official publication of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Is the quotation accurate? Did FELLOWSHIP make such a statement about A. J. Muste, with its implication that the FOR is hostile to the Church? Let us see!

The first article in the January, 1952, issue of FELLOWSHIP was a biographical essay about A. J. Muste, written by Milton Mayer, in the latter's inimitable style. It was called "The Christer," and it took off from a quotation from James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism:*

> Trotsky was greatly interested in the personality of Muste, asked me questions about him and entertained some hopes that he would develop into a real Bolshevik later. . . . Muste's handicap was his background. He had started out in life as a preacher. But despite the handicap of his background, he gave promise because of his exceptional personal qualities, and because of the great influence he had over the people associated with him; his prestige and his reputation. He was, you might say, the last chance and the best chance; and even he, the best prospect of all, couldn't come through in the end because of that terrible background of the church. . . .

Mayer's point was that Muste was so incurably Christian that he could not long tolerate Trotskyism: that eventually he had to come back to the faith in love upon which the Church is built. And what of the quotation in the Report?

At one of the "parties" given for A. J. Muste around the time of his 65th birthday, relates Milton Mayer, one of the speakers was a "union stiff" who spoke of what Muste had

". . . Professor Harlow J. Hepatitis, chairman of the Department of Plates of the East Smudgeville Dental College, who . . ."

done for labor. He told of being out on strike in Paterson in 1931, "and my shoes were so thin I could feel the cold through the soles." He went to a big strike meeting where the platform was filled with "do-gooders."

> "I was in the first row of the audience, and right above me, on the platform, was this long skinny fellow. I never saw such long legs on a man, and he kept crossing them to get them out of the way, but pretty soon they'd start swinging and I saw the bottom of each of his shoes.; the soles were gone and he had newspapers in them.
> "I turned to the fellow next to me and asked who it was. He said: 'It's Muste.'
> " 'Used to be a preacher,' said the fellow next to me, 'before he went straight.' "

*"Used to be a preacher * * * before he went straight," according to* FELLOWSHIP. . . .

An accidental shift of emphasis? Coincidence—the substitution of a single set of quotation marks for a double, the insertion of three asterisks for the words "said the fellow next to me," the attribution to FELLOWSHIP rather than to the speaker? Coincidence, or calculated deception?

The Report's next reference is to a pamphlet the author of this article wrote in 1942 called *Conscripts of Conscience,* the story of sixteen men over 45 years of age who had refused to register for the draft and who were consequently facing possible imprisonment. One of the sixteen was, not unexpectedly, A. J. Muste, and from the brief biographical sketch of Mr. Muste the Report quotes the following two paragraphs:

> In the first World War, A. J. Muste was a young Presbyterian minister, with a church in Newtonville, Mass. He was a pacifist, and an outspoken one, although he describes himself as also naive and somewhat ill-informed. His refusal to be silenced about his pacifist convictions led to his dismissal from his church in 1918.
>
> After the war he became interested in the labor movement, and rapidly assumed a position of leadership in that field. Along with two other pacifist ministers he was leader of the great Lawrence textile strike from February to May 1919 and was publicly praised for the restraint with which that strike was conducted in the face of extreme provocation by police and labor spies. After two years as general secretary to the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America he became director of the

". . . . is reported to have helped organize the Defenders of Democratic Disparity . . ."

famous Brookwood Labor College, a position he held for 12 years. By 1933, impatient of the Church's failure to provide leadership in ameliorating the lot of the masses and for the world revolution his keen mind foresaw, and attracted to the singleness of purpose exhibited by the Communists, he deserted both the Church and pacifism for Trotzkyist Communism.

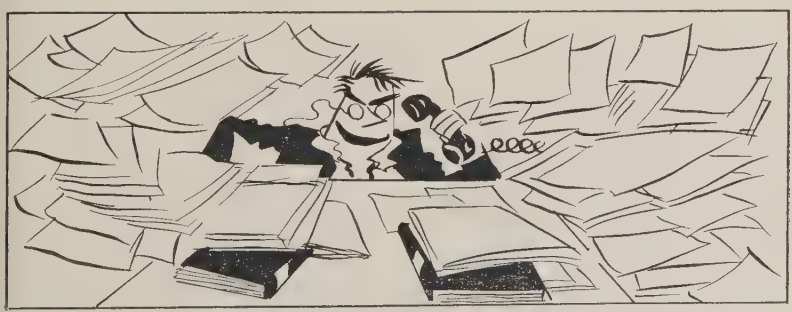
The quotation is accurate and verbatim, but was it another coincidence that the paragraph immediately following was *not* quoted?

> As time passed, however, his insistent determination to be content with nothing less than the truth made him more and more dissatisfied with the Communist tendency to give unquestioning allegiance to the Party "line," while the methods of violence and repression increasingly used by organized Communism appalled something fundamental in his nature. At last, in 1936, he left the Communist ranks and returned to the fold of radical Christianity and pacifism, convinced of the fundamental rightness of his earlier choice, imperfectly arrived at though it had been.

But the Dilworth Report really gets into stride on A. J. Muste when it gets its teeth into Milton Mayer's aforementioned "The Christer." From this the Report copies the bulk of 17 paragraphs (with significant omissions here and there), totalling almost 750 words. Most of them dealt with Muste's labor and Trotskyist days and, although some excerpts suggest that the Report's writer was not always entirely sure what Mayer actually *was* saying, it was on these that the emphasis was left. At best, it leaves Muste's position equivocal; at worst, a casual reader could be forgiven for concluding that the "preacher turned straight" had come back to the Church still a confirmed Communist.

Had the Report genuinely sought to clarify the Muste position—and that of the FOR variety of pacifism generally—would it not have been reasonable to quote two conclusive paragraphs referring to the letter he wrote when he returned to pacifism and the church? The paragraphs in question are taken verbatim from "The Christer":

> Thus [Muste] went on, Marxism without God is an illusion; with God, it is no longer Marxism. The labor and revolutionary movements accept lying and cheating in dealing with the "class enemy," who lies and cheats; it ends in its



". . . which is alleged to have grown out of the activities of the notoriously left-wing organization . . ."

members' lying and cheating in dealing with one another. It is lying and cheating and what they lead to—violence—that leads to the slaughter of the workers in war and the replacing of capitalism by Fascism.

". . . Thus, added experience, observation of the crisis in which mankind finds itself, and arguments which seem to me irrefutable, have brought me again to the position which I held some years ago; namely, that the dynamic we require for life of the individual and society is spiritual, Christian, and the method is basically and essentially, that of non-violence!!!"

It is possible that the Report's author was assailed by doubt when he (or she) finished writing this section. Perhaps he wondered if he had quite made his point. Mayer was an inconsiderate writer whose stuff was hard to quote out of context, convincingly. In any event, to nail the thing down, the Report observes that the author of this "eulogy of A. J. Muste" had been a professor at the University of Chicago until 1947, when he resigned to become a member of the academic staff of the Great Books Foundation.

Consider (urges the Report solemnly) these excerpts in relation to the Great Books Foundation taken from the "Analysis of Testimony Given Before the Seditious Activities Investigation Commission With Regard to the Investigation of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College. Together With Comments and Additional Material by Rep. C. William Horsley, Sponsor of House Joint Resolution No. 21, page 15, (April, 1949)."

"The Great Books Foundation is sponsored by Chancellor Hutchins of the University of Chicago. Not long ago it published the Communist Manifesto with the following explanation: 'This reprint contains only part of a book, the part assigned in the first course for community groups. There will not be enough of them in local libraries and book stores to satisfy the demand during 1947 and 1948. You are nevertheless urged to secure the whole book at your library or book store, as you can see, and read it as a whole. This reprint is offered by the Great Books Foundation at a price which is greater than the actual cost of the book. The difference represents a contribution to the Foundation and will be used in its work of extending the organized reading and discussion of the great books.' "

Follow it? The Fellowship of Reconciliation had A. J. Muste as its executive secretary. A. J. Muste, who was a Trotskyite for a few years, was the object of a laudatory article by Milton Mayer, who

". . . the **Association for American Aspirations!**"

worked for the Great Books Foundation, which encourages people to read the Communist Manifesto! So deep-laid is the plot, so extensive its connections!

(The Great Books Foundation works on the assumption that men can deal with problems better if they understand them, and that the great literature of man's history helps with such an understanding. Along with the Communist Manifesto, the Foundation encourages its members to read and study the Bible, and uses the Declaration of Independence for its opening discussion. Its whole list includes virtually every other document that has influenced history since history began.)

2. Page to Myrdal to Hiss

KIRBY PAGE, a venerable but stalwart and energetic Californian, has been an outspoken pacifist for more years than most people can remember. For decades he has stumped vigorously up and down the country flaying the be-jabers out of the war system, warning his fellow countrymen that they hadn't much more time to change over from warmaking to peacemaking if they wanted to keep civilization from crashing around their ears. Warning them, too, that the way of Jesus is the way of love, not of violence.

Kirby's brand of peacemaking has always been within the Christian context. His books and pamphlets—hundreds of them—might quote all kinds of statistics or they might not, but they practically always quoted the Bible. His most ambitious books have been collections of meditations—Christian meditations, unembarrassedly built around the figure and teachings of Jesus. *Living Prayerfully . . . Living Creatively . . . Living Courageously . . . Religious Resources for Personal Living and Social Action . . . How God Deals with Evildoers . . . How Jesus Faced Totalitarianism* . . . these are the kind of books and pamphlets Kirby Page wrote, the kind of sermons he preached, back and forth across the country, time after time. When the Communists were for peace, Kirby was for peace; when the Communists decided it was a holy war against the fascists, Kirby was still for peace. In season and out, Kirby Page stuck by his position that to be a Christian meant to be a pacifist. Stuck to his position, too, that an ardent democratic Socialist like himself must necessarily be a sturdy anti-Stalinist!

You wouldn't think it would be easy to tie Kirby Page into the Communist conspiracy, would you? Here's how the Dilworth Committee went about it.

In 1937 the Carnegie Foundation, the chairman of whose board was an obscure fellow named John Foster Dulles, financed the visit to the United States of a Swedish sociologist of world stature to do a study of the "race problem" in the United States. The sociologist was named Gunnar Myrdal, and the two-volume book that resulted from his visit, *An American Dilemma*, quickly became a classic in its field, quoted at length by anyone who knew or professed to know much about race relations.

Subsequently Kirby Page wrote

a book called *The Creative Revolution of Jesus,* in which he quoted from *An American Dilemma.* From this point it was a simple step for the Dilworth sleuths, who proceeded to quote triumphantly from a speech by that unbiased authority on racism, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi:

> In 1937 the Carnegie Foundation brought over Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, professor in the University of Stockholm. He was described by the corporation as a social economist. He called himself a social engineer. He was a Socialist who had served the Communist cause. He admitted he had no knowledge of the Negro question in the United States. He was hired to make an investigation of race relations in this country; was given an ample staff and funds for that purpose, and was told to publish his findings. On this project Myrdal naturally found himself in the company of those recommended by the Carnegie Foundation, of Alger His fame.[24]

Here again the Committee's tendency to equate efforts to improve the lot of the Negro with communism becomes embarrassingly evident in the paragraphs that follow:

> After quoting from *An American Dilemma* in his book *The Creative Revolution of Jesus,* Kirby Page quotes from the report of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches, he says:
>
> "At the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches, the Section on The Church and the Disorder of Society in its report declared: 'If the Church can overcome the national and social barriers which now divide it, it can help society to overcome those barriers. This is especially clear in the case of racial distinction***'"
>
> It is more than a coincidence that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has long used its great influence on religious bodies for similar objectives. They report in the magazine FELLOWSHIP, October, 1954, the following:
>
> "The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches was held in Evanston, Illinois, and attended by 125,000 people, and 'It condemned racial segregation going so far as to give its approval to interracial marriage.' . . . the Church was moving toward unity and 'we shall' asserted Methodist Bishop Oxnam, 'stay together.'"

It is unimportant that the section of the quotation beginning "the Church was moving toward unity . . ." appeared in an entirely different context; what matters is the clear implication that when the Church condemned racial segregation it was serving the Communist cause.

[24] p. 27

3. Black Is White—Doublethink Comes to Nonviolence

IN GEORGE ORWELL'S *1984* the technique of "doublethink" is explained. By this interesting procedure, demonstrated in our own time by the recurrent rewriting of history in the Soviet Union, things become precisely their opposite by the simple procedure of saying so. War is peace. Black is white.

Orwell would have been impressed by the Dilworth Committee, had he the privilege of reading one particular section of its report. This one deals with *Erasing the Color Line,* a pamphlet written by George Houser and published in 1947 by the Fellowship.

The 64-page pamphlet is devoted to the story of how nonviolent techniques have been used to deal with racial struggle and to achieve racial equality. In it Houser, who

was then the FOR's Race Relations Secretary, recounted numerous instances in which teams of FOR members (or members of the Congress of Racial Equality working with FOR) broke down discriminatory practices in theatres, swimming pools, restaurants, railroad stations, and other public places. The pamphlet includes a careful exposition of the methods of nonviolence, including emphasis on the use of good will and a complete renunciation of violence even under extreme provocation.

Since the Committee's conception of communism is inextricably involved with the Communist's indiscriminate and almost principled use of violence ("Do you favor the forceful or violent overthrow of . . .") *Erasing the Color Line* would seem to offer a barren prospect for exploration. The Committee, however, was not to be stymied by so slight an obstacle. To argue that a treatise on nonviolence was actually an incitement to violence was no problem at all. The Report calls attention to Chapter one of *Erasing*—"The Problem, and Ways of Meeting It"—and quotes Houser's brief recapitulation of the roles, in dealing with race discrimination, of education, political action, legal action, and government action.

The final paragraph of this quote reads as follows (the emphasis is ours):

> Violence: Another possible approach to the race problem is that of organizing for violent overthrow of those who support white supremacy. *This approach should be disavowed by all who are truly concerned for the elimination of racism, on strategic grounds as well as on principle. Only one possible excuse can be given for the use of violence in meeting racial injustice—it is better to resist wrong violently than to submit to it out of cowardice. But organized violence fails to gain new rights, or to change effectively policies of discrimination and segregation. . . .*

One would assume that this was a fairly clear rejection of the methods of violence, particularly since it is followed by 48 pages extolling the advantages of nonviolent methods.

But the Committee was not to be deterred by appearances. *Its* interpretation of the paragraph quoted above follows:

> Their suggestion of violence will produce action by unrestrained groups who will pay no attention to the weak disclaimer of violence attached to this suggestion. Mr. Houser's stated suggestion of violence as a possible remedy can in no way be excused by his disavowal which will be ignored.
>
> This is a strange suggestion to come from one who professes loudly his attachment to peace.[25]

Thus black is white, a leading text book on nonviolence becomes an incitement to violence, and the pacifists once again are demonstrated to be clever and unscrupulous conspirators who stop at nothing to subvert their native society!

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[25] p. 132

4. Leading British Churchman— A "Completely Indoctrinated" Pacifist

DR. DONALD SOPER, former president of the General Methodist Conference of Great Britain and a prominent member of the British FOR, is one of Britain's most dynamic clergymen, pacifist or nonpacifist. Crowds turn out to hear him, not only when he preaches in his regular pulpit at Kingsway Hall, but when he mounts the soapbox in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoons. Among those who heckle him most fiercely on the latter occasions are the Communists, who dislike intensely the proposition that Christianity has a vital role to play in the development of a peaceful, secure society.

Early in 1955 Donald Soper visited Russia for fourteen days. When he returned he wrote a brief report on what he had seen, and it was published in FELLOWSHIP.[26] This article, observes the Dilworth Report, "reveals how a Pacifist minister can be completely indoctrinated in 14 days with a completely favorable attitude toward the dictatorship in Russia."[27]

What do the words "completely indoctrinated" and "completely favorable" mean to the Dilworth investigators?

Dr. Soper began his article with these words:

> I went to Russia with great ignorance and many doubts, and have *brought back with me many of those doubts still unresolved....* (Emphasis added.)

A little later, remarking that although they had been received with great hospitality, they had seen only three cities for a short time, and had been hampered greatly by the language problem, Dr. Soper observes that "it would be the height of foolishness for any of us now to pose as authorities on the Russian scene." However, he adds, "for me at least, a few things are no longer in doubt, and I will venture to set them down, for . . . an ounce of fact is worth a ton of conjecture."

What were these things that were no longer in doubt?

First, that "Russia is prospering economically and socially," an assertion confirmed by virtually everyone who has visited Russia.

Second, that Russians have no knowledge of what is going on outside their country, and "the irresistible propaganda that permeates their entire outlook has long ago persuaded them that their country is the happiest and noblest in the world."

Third, that "organized Christianity goes hand in hand with organized atheism," and that "religion in Russia today has no independent voice, no critical facilities, no creative role. . . ."

Strange words for a "completely indoctrinated" minister? Yet there are stranger still, for all these were quoted in the Dilworth Report presumably to prove the case against Dr. Soper. Read now these that were omitted:[28]

> I have space for one other certainty. I can see now what hap-

[26] April, 1955

[27] p. 64

[28] The Report reproduced 124 of the total of 202 lines in the Soper article, but observed that "The article is too lengthy to quote in full."

pens in a country when intellectual freedom, as I know it, cannot breathe. Quite the most disturbing impressions I have brought back with me, are instances, almost everywhere, of men and women so unaccustomed to the normal process of making up their own minds that they seem to have lost that faculty altogether.

There is a terrifying acquiescence to official "pronunciamenti" which are sheer rubbish, such as the repeated statement to us that when the people of Russia come to a decision about something or other and express that decision through their trusted leaders, that decision is, at the time it is made, completely wise and morally infallible.

A professor in an Orthodox Seminary solemnly assured me, in conditions of comparative privacy, that there is no conflict between Divine law and the Soviet constitution. Everything inside me cries out that this state of affairs cannot be permanent, but who will change it and how, certainly has no place in this brief article on certainties.

5. Allan Knight Chalmers and the Scottsboro Case— "Cited as a Communist Front"

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, on March 25, 1931, in the depth of America's great depression, nine Negro boys riding a freight deep in Alabama were arrested and charged with the rape of two white girls. The boys, as it turned out, were innocent, but two weeks after their arrest eight of them had been sentenced to death and the ninth to life imprisonment. The arrests and convictions marked the beginning of one of the most famous cases in American jurisprudence: the Scottsboro case. The emotions of millions of Americans were to become involved in the long struggle to free nine obscure boys from the toils of prejudice and hate; thousands of citizens contributed time or money to the cause.

Four years after that trial and conviction, in 1935, the late Walter White, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, went to the office of the minister of the Broadway Tabernacle (Congregational) Church in New York City to solicit his help in securing the freedom of the nine innocent boys. The minister was the Rev. Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, now professor of Preaching and Applied Christianity at Boston University School of Theology and longtime member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and its National Council.

"Hope of attaining justice for the nine Negro defendants," wrote White years later, "was never before or since at as low an ebb as it was that day. American and other Communists had publicized the case in every corner of the world as an example of the 'decadence of American democracy.' . . . arrogant demands by Communists upon public officials and the courts had stiffened the equally determined concentration of Negro haters; so much so, in fact, that some of us had begun to wonder if nine Scottsboro boys dead would not feed as much grist to the party mill as nine Scottsboro boys alive. . . .

"I warned Allan Chalmers that it was virtually a hopeless cause, so tangled was the case and so in-

transigent the opposition. . . . I told him that slim though the chances were, however, execution of the defendants, whose innocence medical testimony had established beyond doubt, would be so terrible a blot on American justice . . . that we had to do the utmost to prevent such a tragedy."[29]

Hopeless as the case appeared, the cause of the nine boys stirred Allan Knight Chalmers, and he agreed to accept the chairmanship of the Scottsboro Defense Committee. Fifteen years were to pass before the last of the "Scottsboro boys" finally left prison a free man, and Allan Chalmers stayed with the struggle all the way through.

"That their long overdue freedom today belongs to the Scottsboro men (because they are no longer boys)," added Walter White in 1951, "is due to Allan Chalmers more than to any other human being."[30]

It was a complicated, heartbreaking struggle. The Communists, through their International Labor Defense, had moved into the struggle as soon as the plight of the boys became known. Of ILD Allan Chalmers wrote: ". . . avowedly Communist—rough, raucous, full of promises but empty of concern for consequences."[31]

Also early in the case were the NAACP, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The boys in the death house were besieged with offers of help. Unaware of ideological considerations, but knowing of the ILD's reputation for moving fast, they chose the ILD. The decision had two results: because of the way in which the Communists exploited the case for party reasons, it vastly complicated the ultimate job of freeing the boys; but, at the immediate moment, it saved them from execution. "I know that if I had been sitting in the Kilby death house in 1931," wrote Allan Chalmers, "I too should have chosen the ILD."[32]

The Communists saved the boys from death, but complicated the long task of freeing them. Their behavior was one of many exasperating aspects of the Scottsboro Defense Committee's 19-year struggle, but the dedicated men and women from all over the nation did not permit either Southern prejudice or Communist opportunism to dilute their determination not to permit "so terrible a blot on American justice."

Scottsboro and Dilworth

Now what has the Dilworth Committee to say of this brave, passionate, complex interweaving of forces, and of the heroic sacrifice of thousands of hours of time and dollars to win justice for nine friendless Negro boys? Simply this:

> "A good example of one of the united fronts in the United States is the Scottsboro Defense Committee. Connected with this organization, one finds the American Civil Liberties Union, the (Communist) International Labor Defense, the (Socialist) League for Industrial Democracy, the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, the National Urban League, the National Association for Advance-

[29] From *They Shall Be Free*, by Allan Knight Chalmers. Doubleday, 1951

[30] ibid.

[31] ibid., p. 20

[32] ibid., p. 21

ment of Colored People, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice."[33]

And, a little later on, even more tersely:

> The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publication, Prepared and Released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, lists an organization called the Scottsboro Defense Committee. It is cited as follows:
>
> 1. Cited as a Communist front.
>
> (Special Commitee on Un-American Activities, Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 82; and March 29, 1944, p. 177).
>
> 2. Cited as a Communist created and controlled front organization.
>
> (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 34).
>
> 3. A "United front under the guidance of the Communist Party."
>
> (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 213)."[34]

[33] Dilworth Report, P. 20, 21

[34] p. 44

6. "The Testimony of G. Bromley Oxnam Appears . . ."

THE TECHNIQUE of smear is frequently simplicity itself. How damning are the words, "Cited fourteen times by the such-and-such committee," yet they may mean only that the person in question has been *named* during hearings of the committee. They do not necessarily mean that he has been demonstrated to be a Communist, or a subversive, or anything else, except a name. Sometimes referral back to the such-and-such committee's files discloses that the "citation" reads simply that "He has been charged with . . ." or "It is claimed that he . . .", with no evidence, no accuser's name, no findings. And, by the sinister mathematics of these committees the new reference means that now the victim has been "cited" fifteen times!

G. Bromley Oxnam is a bishop of the Methodist Church. He is a forceful, dynamic, outspoken person with a number of strong convictions which do not include, interestingly enough, pacifism. They do include a number of other things that the typical investigating committee doesn't like, however, and a while back Bishop Oxnam discovered that the House Un-American Activities Committee was circulating, on its letterhead, a whole conglomeration of unproven rumors and charges about his past and current connections.

Bishop Oxnam demanded the opportunity to appear before the committee and set matters straight. Eventually, after much backing and filling, the committee granted his request. In an all-day grilling during which wholly new charges were hurled unexpectedly at the bishop, G. Bromley Oxnam singlehandedly, in the judgment of most of the press, made the committee members "eat crow." He would not be deflected; he forced the committee to specify, to name names, to stick to the subject. The committee squirmed and twisted, but at the end it noted in its minutes that it had no evidence in its files connecting G. Bromley Oxnam with anything whatever subversive.

Bishop Oxnam's triumph was

hailed by millions of relieved Americans who had feared that no one was ever going to stop the committee in its tracks. Even so eminently respectable a publication as David Lawrence's *U. S. News and World Report* devoted most of a special isue to a verbatim record of the testimony.

Some time after Bishop Oxnam had successfully bearded the lion in his Congressional den, he joined his old friend Henry Hitt Crane, minister of the Central Methodist Church in Detroit, in a series of "colloquies" on pacifism. Dr. Crane, a long-time FOR member, supported the pacifist position in the colloquies; Bishop Oxnam opposed it, a fact which conceivably may have been overlooked by the Dilworth Committee investigator. At any rate, the Report devotes one paragraph to the subject, which is quoted herewith verbatim, with the suggestion that the reader decide for himself what the inference of the last sentence is intended to be:

> According to the January, 1955, issue of FORsight, Henry Hitt Crane, Fellowship of Reconciliation Advisory member and minister of the Central Methodist Church of Detroit, and G. Bromley Oxnam, Bishop of the Washington, D. C. area of the Methodist Church, spoke on the pacifist and non-pacifist points of view "in relation to world order" at Bovard Auditorium, University of Southern California Campus, on January 26, 1955. The testimony of G. Bromley Oxnam before the House Un-American Activities Committee appears in Volume F, pages 3583 to 3850, also see House Committee index.[35]

The pattern of distortion is not limited to the illustrations given. It would be tempting, and not far from accurate, to say that it is limited only by the incidents, persons and occasions to which the Committee refers. Several additional brief demonstrations of this fact conclude this section.

The "Peace Now" Movement

The "Peace Now" Movement was an outgrowth of a pamphlet published in 1943 entitled "A Call to Peace Now," and written by Mrs. Dorothy Hutchinson of the Religious Society of Friends. The message of the pamphlet was endorsed by a number of prominent pacifists, including A. J. Muste, then national secretary of the FOR. The resultant Peace Now Movement, however, whose spokesman was the late Prof. George Hartmann of Teachers College, Columbia University, took some positions and made some statements with which the FOR and other established pacifist groups did not agree. These groups, including in addition to FOR the National Council for the Prevention of War, the War Resisters League, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Friends, clearly dissociated themselves from the movement. All of this is correctly reported by the Dilworth Committee, along with the "finding" of a congressional committee "that in specific instances the so-called movement has been guilty of acts whose nature is clearly seditious and which tend toward the encouragement of treason."[36]

At this point, however, the Report's level of objective reporting takes a sharp dip. For surely it is relevant to report that Prof. Hartmann doggedly took to the courts

[35] p. 46

[36] p. 11

a number of newspapers that, carried away by their wartime enthusiasm, had used the House committee's report as the basis for feature articles charging the movement with being seditious and treasonable. And that in each case he won either a judgment or an out-of-court settlement, with the newspapers humbly publishing their much-belated retractions! (It is, of course, impossible generally to force a congressional committee to correct rash and unfounded statements, since congressmen by law are protected from such court actions.)

And surely it was not relevant, but vaguely suggestive of the disreputable, to wind up this section with the following paragraph:

> The three individuals who signed the letter disavowing connections with the Peace Now Movement, A. J. Muste, J. N. Sayre, and John M. Swomley, are all high ranking officers of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and are signers of a petition to President Eisenhower to grant "Christman amnesty" to the Communists imprisoned under the Smith Act, on December 22, 1955, according to the Communist press.[37]

The Amnesty Petition

". . . according to the Communist press." What damning connotations the words have, especially when associated with a petition asking President Eisenhower for amnesty for the Communist leaders imprisoned under the Smith Act!

That petition is referred to in the Dilworth Report three times;[38] is it accidental that in each case the Committee's "source" is the Communist press, rather than one of the hundreds of regular newspapers, led by the *New York Times*, that carried extended news stories on the subject? Was it an oversight that the Committee, for all its interest in the petition, failed to mention anywhere this key sentence!

> Those who present this petition are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements in its program and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life and the desire to maintain and strengthen it.[39]

The Mysterious Clergyman and His Subversive Connections

A retired clergyman who is a member of the National Advisory Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation signed one of the organization's letters to its membership last year. In the light of the clergyman's other connections, this seemed significant to the Dilworth Committee. The Report duly noted this fact, therefore, and also that the clergyman had sponsored a 65th Birthday celebration for A. J. Muste and appeared to be a member of the FOR. Further to help readers identify this rascally fellow, and to show how his other dubious connections support the suspicion that the FOR is Communist, the Report listed these other connections:

¶ An honorary president of "the new Communist front," the National Council Against Conscription. (Frederick Woltman, Nobel prize winner for his authoritative articles on Communists and Communist fronts said of this charge: ". . . the National Council Against Conscription is neither a Communist front nor in any way Communistically inclined. For the past 15 years

[37] p. 11
[38] pp. 11, 28, 53.
[39] See Appendix VI, p. 48.

I have been writing about Communist activities and infiltration for the *New York World-Telegram.* This required keeping extensive files on such front movements. By no stretch of the facts could the Council be so classified."[40]

¶ Affiliated with the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights; League of American Writers; and the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.[41]

¶ Member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

[40] In a letter dated May 16, 1951. See Appendix V, p. 47.

[41] In a letter dated July 22, 1956, the clergyman wrote: ". . . The California Investigating Committee's report is all news to me. As to the three organizations which I am supposed to have joined or sponsored, I do not recall that I ever even heard of them until your letter came. I am against the poll tax, of course, and may sometime, now forgotten, have signed a statement from some committee about that, but I have no recollection of ever having heard of any of the organizations named."

If you were a member of a TV panel charged with guessing the identity of the clergyman from those clues, would you know his name?

Would you guess that he is one of the United States' most widely known and best-loved ministers? That he was minister for many years of one of the country's great churches, of which he is now minister emeritus? That he was a professor in one of the country's leading theological seminaries? That he is the author of twenty-six widely read books on Christian living, the former preacher on the nationwide radio program "National Vespers," the confidant and counselor of thousands of troubled individuals who had turned to him for help?

Would you, in short, have guessed that the Dilworth Committee was talking about the Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick?

FALSE WITNESS

The Peace Movement and the United Fronts

"It is too much the habit of prosecuting officers to assume beforehand that a defendant is guilty and then expect to have the established rules of evidence twisted, and all the features of a fair trial distorted, in order to secure a conviction."

California Supreme Court,
December 22, 1893

FEW ORGANIZATIONS, if any, have had a more clearly consistent record of non-participation in united fronts with Communists than the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Dating from before World War II, the FOR has made clear its unwillingness to collaborate on the organizational level with groups that were dominated by Communists or that followed the official Communist line. In the middle '30s, when an executive of the FOR sought to interpret the Fellowship's opposition to war as allowing exceptions in the case of the "class struggle," a poll of the entire membership rejected this interpretation by an overwhelming majority and he was obliged to resign.[42]

During World War II, when the official line in the United States was one of tolerance and friendliness for the Russian ally, the FOR's policy remained one of non-cooperation, and in the postwar period the Fellowship's warning about the nature of the Stockholm Peace Petition considerably antedated that of the State Department.[43]

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42 Another of the ironies that develop when attempts are made to establish a 1956 position by referring to 1936 activities will be apparent when it is observed that the executive in question was Mr. J. B. Matthews. Mr. Matthews, who subsequently was to become consultant to the House Un-American Activities Committee and to Senator Joseph McCarthy, was another of those whose concern for social reform led him in the '30s to close collaboration with the Communists.

43 The March 29, 1943 issue of *Life* was devoted in full to the question of "Soviet-American cooperation." While maintaining some reservations, *Life* devoted itself largely to minimizing the differences between the two nations and projecting a hopeful picture of the future. The NKVD (secret police) *Life* described as "a national police similar to the FBI," whose job was "tracking down traitors." (Readers can discover other interesting examples of this kind of disposition to favor the Soviet in "Who 'Collaborated' with Russia" by Paul Willen, in the Fall 1954 issue of the *Antioch Review*.)

In the light of the *Life* and other published articles, it is worth noting the following lines from an article by A. J. Muste in the July 1942 issue of FELLOWSHIP, almost a year earlier:

"I cannot believe that the peoples of Europe . . . have any strong yearning for communism of the Russian variety—for exchanging a Russian for a German Gestapo, for example. But, unless Britain and the United States are prepared, if necessary, to fight in order to prevent it, I find it hard to see how a defeated and disarmed Germany . . . can be kept from falling into the Russian sphere of influence. I confess that both prospects—a new war over what is to be done with Europe, or a sovietized Europe under Stalinist control—appall me."

On this matter the Fellowship needs no defense. No honest charges of such collaboration can be laid against it; only through the kind of assembling of manipulated "evidence" that appears in the Dilworth Report can an adverse case be made.

Yet there was a period during which non-Communist groups, including pacifists, *did* cooperate with Communists—a period that extended into the middle 1930's. About that fact some things also need to be said. Time tends to become compressed in our minds, and we sometimes overlook the fact that two similar actions may have very different connotations when separated by twenty years.

It was a far different world in 1936 than in 1956. Now there are two great powers straddling the globe; then there were seven nations of significant power. Now communism represents the dominant challenger to the democratic powers; then fascism was rampant, the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis was in the making, China was prostrate and Russia vulnerable to the Nazis.

The United States was still deep in depression: millions were without work, and those with sensitive consciences were alert to the possibility that some form of socialism might be the answer to the recurrent crises for which capitalism appeared to have no solution. The seedbed of the Dies Committee was not apprehension concerning any military threat posed by the Soviet Union, but the fear that communism represented a threat to the special privileges of the country's economic hierarchy.

While the ominous growth of tyranny and dictatorship had become apparent in the Soviet Union, many of the worst excesses of the Stalinist period were still to come. Many Americans, while deploring some aspects of communism in Russia, were willing to work with other Americans who were Communists—on certain issues on which they appeared to be going in the same direction. However, because the Communists so often attempted to manipulate such groups for their own ends, both pacifist and Socialist movements had abandoned the concept of the united front several years before their goverment's decision to enter a military "united front" with Russia in 1941 as an ally in the desperate struggle with Hitler.[44] It was because of the experiences leading to that abandonment that the FOR National Council issued its strongly worded pronouncement on the subject in 1940. (See Appendix III, p. 43.)

The persistent attempts to besmirch the reputations and destroy the present effectiveness of the individuals and groups who went through these experiences two decades ago still reflect a determination to oppose any changes in the economy or politics of the nation that would inhibit the wealth or power of the minority with which the "investigators" identify themselves. The Fellowship, which strives to build a social order "which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another," does of course recognize that such an order must mean the end of special privilege for any group.

The positions the Fellowship takes or has taken on this and other matters, represent the best thinking of its governing bodies, its National Council and its Executive Committee. But for these groups to

[44] "Who 'Collaborated' with Russia?" by Paul Willen, *Antioch Review*, Fall, 1954.

take such a position does not mean that every member of the Fellowship is bound automatically to conform to it in his personal activities. Only in authoritarian societies can the members of any organization be expected to conform in every detail.

It is difficult to imagine that anyone, understanding the implications of both positions, could be simultaneously a pacifist and a Communist. It should not be at all difficult to understand that there are sincere and well-informed pacifists whose concern for individual personality and faith in democratic procedures lead them to work more closely with Communist groups for common objectives than the Fellowship as a whole thinks wise. Such persons, who enter these situations quite aware of the dangers, are especially vulnerable to the "guilt-by-association" technique. That they do not retreat from their position is a measure of the depth of their convictions.

The official position of the FOR is one of disagreement with the approach these individuals make, and as an organization the FOR ought to be judged on the basis of its own position. It is precisely this position that the Dilworth Report has obscured and distorted.

The Democratic Faith

There is at least a possibility that the Dilworth Report will seriously handicap the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, even that it might injure the reputation and impair the earning capacity of individuals associated with it. Such developments would be serious and deplorable, but they would be neither the most serious nor the most deplorable aspects of the af-

Ideas are indeed the most dangerous weapons in the world. Our ideas of freedom are the most powerful political weapons man has ever forged. If we remember that, we will never have much to fear from communism. The force we generate with our ideas of liberty can give powerful impetus to freedom on other continents, as well as at home; in another century, as well as today.

We have not always remembered that, and forgetting, have given the word un-American strange meanings. Communism is, of course, un-American, because it is a way of life that denies man his unalienable rights. But un-American has other meanings equally important, but commonly forgotten by the proponents of un-American investigations. Un-American means:

—discrimination against racial, religious, or other minorities
—denial to anyone of the right of free speech
—denial to a person under investigation of the benefit of counsel
—making the accusation the substitute for proof
—using guilt by association as the standard of proof
—using faceless informers as witnesses against men
—using communism as the label to denounce any opponent
—condemning a person for all work because he may not be fit for some.

From: **An Almanac of Liberty** by William O. Douglas. Copyright 1954 by William O. Douglas, reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc.

fair. Pacifists know that, by the very act of taking such a nonconformist position as pacifism, they automatically lay themselves open to such distressing consequences; it is historically true that minorities have frequently had to endure suffering because of their convictions.

What is more significant for the country as a whole in some aspects of the Dilworth Report, as in many other reports and investigations like it, is the kind of unconcern for truth that they disclose. The democratic way of life is assumed to rest on a commitment to certain religious principles and scruples to which men adhere at whatever cost. Preeminent among these in the relevance it has to governmental procedures is the Ninth Commandment: *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.* Heavy penalties for commission of perjury in the courts is evidence of its importance.

A legislative committee's report that distorts and misquotes evidence in order to prove a case against an individual or organization is bearing false witness. It is irrelevant that the members of the committee may be sincere in their love of country and what they may consider to be its best interests It is irrelevant that they may personally abhor pacifism, consider it to be religiously heretical and politically dangerous These are controversial, debatable matters, as many others have been in man's long search for better understanding. Legislators, like other men, are entitled to hold opinions on such matters and to express them as forcefully as they know how, but they are still enjoined by their religious and democratic faith from the use of false witness to "prove" their case.

The power of the democratic idea lies in the faith men have that in matters of justice they stand before the instruments of government as the equals of all other men, protected from the prejudice or caprice of their judges, answerable only for that for which they are actually responsible, entitled to subject the evidence against them to the most searching scrutiny and cross-examination.

It is to that faith that the Dilworth Report deals a severe blow, and the force of the blow is limited only by the Committee's own influence. That this is so should be a matter of great concern to the citizens of California and of the nation.

No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing.

—Wendell Phillips

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Appendix I

Letter sent to Senator Dilworth and other members of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education, July 24, 1956.

July 24, 1956

Senator Nelson S. Dilworth
California State Senate
Sacramento, California

Dear Senator Dilworth:

I am sending you herewith a draft copy of an article to which we plan to devote the bulk of the space in the October issue of our magazine *Fellowship*. You will note that under the title "Anatomy of a Smear," it deals with the Fourteenth Report of the California Senate Investigating Committee on Education entitled "Patriotism or Pacifism, Which?" As you will see from reading the manuscript, we did not feel that the report was an unbiased, objective, honest appraisal of either the pacifist position or the work that the pacifists do.

While calling attention to the fact that this is a draft copy, and hence subject to editorial and other revisions and corrections, I would like very much to invite your comments on it. Such comments as seem suitable and are of manageable length, I shall be glad to include or refer to in the issue itself. We regret that the printing schedule of *Fellowship* requires that your comments reach us *no later than August 10* if they are to be referred to in this issue and sincerely hope that this close schedule will not prevent our getting your response.

Specifically, I should appreciate very much having your comment on the following direct questions:

1. How is it that in an investigation of this kind, leading to a report carrying as damaging insinuations as this does, your committee did not invite any staff member or officer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation to testify before it?

2. What is the explanation for the omission of the key words "the fellow next to me said," in the alleged statement about A. J. Muste appearing on page 12 of your report? (The reference to this in the manuscript enclosed is on page 28.)

3. Do you feel that the excerpts from the article "The Christer," by Milton Mayer, beginning on page 34 of your report and dealing with A. J. Muste, give a fair and accurate picture of his present position? Do you think that his position would have been clearer in your report had the two paragraphs that I have added in the manuscript (see page 30) also been included?

4. On page 132 there appears the suggestion that the booklet "Erasing

the Color Line," which devotes 64 pages to stories of the use of nonviolence in overcoming race discrimination, is actually an incitement to violence. Do you agree with this interpretation?

5. Have you any comment on the fact that the "sampling" of pacifist literature published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (page 49 of your report) included only 10 of 110 titles on our literature list, of which nine made up the entire category of race relations titles and only one came from any of the eight other categories? Do you feel that there is any significance in this choice of titles, or do you feel that this is a coincidence? What is your reaction to the comment on this matter on page 17 of our manuscript?

If, as we feel, these and other instances indicate that the California Senate Report presents an extremely distorted picture of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, its personnel and its work, then it casts disrepute on the committee itself and, to a considerable extent, on the entire democratic process. I should be very happy to hear from you to what extent you believe our interpretation is justified.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Alfred Hassler, *Editor*
Fellowship.

Appendix II

The Statement of Purpose of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is composed of men and women of many nations and races who recognize the unity of the world-wide human family and wish to explore the possibilities of love for discovering truth, dispelling antagonisms, and reconciling people, despite all differences, in a friendly society. They believe that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances; and they seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation began in England in 1914, and was extended to the United States in 1915, as a movement of Christian protest against war and of faith in a better way than violence for the solution of all conflict. Most of the members have joined because of their desire to follow unswervingly the way of life exemplified by Jesus; some have received their inspiration from other religious leaders; and some have reached their faith in love and nonviolence in still other ways.

Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words, they refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations.

They work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes. They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life. They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment. They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities, and races. They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

It is intended that members shall work out these purposes in their own ways. There is no uniform program of social reconstruction to which all are committed. The movement depends not upon a large number of nominal adherents, but upon those who, accepting the principles fully for themselves, will give time individually and in groups to thinking out what is implied, and will set themselves seriously to apply their conclusions. Such an endeavor inevitably brings a consciousness of insufficiency; but strength and wisdom, far beyond the limits of our present experience, are available to all who open their lives to the leading of the Spirit of God.

All who agree with the principles of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are invited to contribute and urged to become members. Their need, in these troublous times, of comradeship with others who share the deep convictions of pacifism is matched by the need of the Fellowship for the added strength that each person's work and prayer may bring.

Appendix III

News article published in Fellowship, April, 1940.

Fellowship and United Fronts

The following statement has been adopted as expressing the mind of the F.O.R. Executive Committee. It was also approved by the Council of the New York City group:

"When the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed last Fall, the Communist Party, automatically following the line laid down by the foreign office of the Soviet dictatorship, overnight radically changed its attitude on matters relating to war and American foreign policy. It had supported the so-called 'collective security' position, urged the 'democracies' to save civilization by stopping Hitler by economic and other kinds of force, vigorously supported President Roosevelt's 'quarantine the aggressors' proposals and armament program, etc. Since September it has completely abandoned this position; it now declares that the war in Europe is one between rival imperialist groups and not essentially 'between fascism and democracy'; it is now demanding

that the United States keep out of war, is forming Keep America Out of War committees—easily confused with the Keep America Out of War Congress with which the F.O.R. is cooperating—and through various 'front organizations' is popularizing the slogan, 'The Yanks Are Not Coming.'

"In outward form this position of keeping America out of war, etc., resembles that of pacifists. Some confusion has already developed on this account, and it is in response to several requests from various sections of the country that the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation makes the present statement. It reflects the mind of the Executive Committee members and is sent out for such help as it may give our groups, members, and friends throughout the country in their own thinking. In turn, the National Office will be glad to receive the comments of others on this statement and reports of their experiences in connection with the problem under discussion.

When Cooperate?

"It has been the policy of the F.O.R. to cooperate in research projects, the promotion of a minimum political program, etc., with other pacifist and also with non-pacifist peace organizations, as, e.g., in the National Peace Conference, the Keep America Out of War Congress, etc. We hold that it has been and is desirable thus to work for common objectives with sincere anti-war forces which are willing to work on a mutually agreed-upon basis with pacifists and which permits an adequate expression of the pacifist viewpoint in joint enterprises. F.O.R. has, however, always deemed it impossible to work with the Communist Party or with political and propagandist organizations which openly welcomed Communists into membership and were in whole or in part under Communist leadership.

Communism Not Pacifism

"One reason is that the Communist Party rejects pacifism in principle; its basic literature is full of bitter attacks on pacifism. For the F.O.R. to be associated with the C.P. in 'anti-war activities' could therefore only serve to confuse multitudes of people as to our aim and function and thus stultify our efforts.

"Furthermore, recent experience has again taught that anti-war organizations in which Communists actively participte have no assurance that they can pursue a consistent policy and necessarily lead a precarious existence. The effort put into such organizations is consequently to a large extent wasted. The American League for Peace and Democracy, for example, undoubtedly contained hundreds of non-Communist members who sincerely believed in the policy of 'collective security' and of economic war by 'democratic' against Fascist countries. When, however, the Communist Party suddenly changed its line at the behest of the foreign office of the Soviet Union, the League collapsed. We believe it is in the long run a sound policy, therefore, also for non-pacifist organizations working to keep America out of war not to engage in united front activities with organizations which welcome Communists and avowed Communist 'fellow-travelers' on their governing boards and among their officers.

Recognize Differences

"The question has sometimes been raised whether the position here set forth does not involve an attitude of suspicion toward certain people and a lack of faith which are contrary to the spirit of fellowship and reconciliation. We certainly must always be on guard against such attitudes; we believe, however, that this question is based on a misapprehension. The fact that we may not hate but must cultivate an attitude of positive love even for militarists and Fascists and tyrants, for example, that we must recognize that they may be as sincere as we are, and that we must have faith that the divine element in them can be made to blossom forth, does not mean that we must be blind to or silent about the evil of their present course. It does not mean that anything can be gained for them or anyone else by slurring over the differences between their aims and methods and ours. It does not mean that so long as they cling to their present purposes and methods we could honestly or fruitfully work with them in organizations which claimed to be working for the elimination of militarism, Fascism, tyranny, and war! If we permit ourselves by a vague amiability and an ignorance of the true situation to be tricked into working for war when we thought we were working for peace, others as well as ourselves will have to bear the disastrous consequences. Nor shall we win the respect or genuine love of those who discover that we are merely confused thinkers and ineffective agents of the cause in which we believe. Only in the degree that we deeply and truly know men and situations—are not fooled or confused about them—can we love and help men and really help to build a better world. In the end, as Jesus suggested, it is only those who have the wisdom of serpents who can be harmless as doves; just as it is only those who are as innocent as doves of any desire to harm their fellows who can achieve true wisdom. These principles are applicable, we believe, to the problem of united fronts with Communists.

No Red-Baiting

"We desire to make it perfectly clear, however, that while we are thus firmly convinced that consistency and honesty forbid our participation in anti-war activities with Communists and Communist organizations, we stand for the maintenance and defense of civil liberties of such persons and organizations; we harbor no ill will or bitterness toward any individuals or groups; we deplore all Red-baiting and violence of word or act in opposing Communist principles and practices; and, of course, as always, dissociate ourselves as completely from Fascist and Nazi as from Communist philosophies and associations."

Appendix IV

Woltman column in the New York World-Telegram, *October 6, 1951.*

PINNING THE RED LABEL ON PACIFISTS MEANS PATRIOTIC ZEAL GONE WRONG

It always pains this column to see well-meaning Americans with patriotic zeal mess up the continuing struggle against communism. That's what happened this week at Ohio State University in Columbus, where the president, Howard L. Bevis, banned a pacifist from speaking on the campus.

The university trustees and the Ohio director of Civil Defense, with Sen. John M. Bricker in the background, had worked up a head of steam against communism and subversion. Good enough. But it blew off on an obscure Quaker, Dr. Cecil Hinshaw, who had been going around speaking for the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Dr. Hinshaw would probably call himself a "radical pacifist." If he were only a mild one, this column would be in sharp disagreement. However . . . he is strongly opposed to working with the Communists in "peace" endeavors. So is the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which holds that the many Communist inspired "peace" campaigns, crusades and congresses are subterfuges, aimed at creating confusion and actually promoting the war aims of the Soviet Union.

The Ohio State incident might not be so important except that it's symptomatic. In Kansas, Indiana and other parts of the country, charges of communism have been raised against anti-Communist pacifist forces. Some come from local veterans' groups that don't quite know the score. Behind the charges are the widely distributed pamphlets of two self-styled—but unreliable—"experts" on communism, Allen A. Zoll and Joseph P. Kamp. Also reports of the California Un-American Activities Committee, which has gone out on a limb more than once. As an upshot, the fire, which should be concentrated on a real menace, the pro-Soviet "peace" movement, is diverted.

Genuine pacifism, which has always been accepted as a minority viewpoint under our free speech tradition, gets labeled Red—to the great joy of the Communists. . . .

Another anti-Communist anti-war group attacked nationwide as Red is the National Council Against Conscription. Its director, John M. Swomley, Jr., is associate secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation along with the Rev. A. J. Muste. Significantly, neither the Council nor the F.O.R. is listed in the comprehensive "Guide to Subversive Organizations" put out last May by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Both Mr. Swomley and the Council have repeatedly warned against the Stockholm Peace Appeal and other spurious Soviet "peace" moves in-

tended to improve Russia's power position. One of the Council's honorary presidents was the late Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, Catholic Archbishop of Philadelphia. A vice-chairman is Francis X. N. McGuire, OSA, president of Villanova College.

Yet the red accusations continue.

If you don't like the pacifist idea, slam away at it for all you're worth. But on the merits, not as communist or subversive. Otherwise, the Commies will love you.

Appendix V

A letter from Frederick Woltman, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist for the New York World-Telegram and Sun.

May 16, 1951

The Rev. Robert F. Weiskotten
St. John's Lutheran Church
Richmond Hill, New York

Dear Mr. Weiskotten:

In reply to your inquiry, I would say without the slightest hesitation that the National Council Against Conscription is neither a Communist front nor in any way Communistically-inclined. For the past 15 years, I have been writing about Communist activities and infiltration for the New York World-Telegram. This required keeping extensive files on such front movements. By no stretch of the facts could the Council be so classified. . . .

I have had dealings with its director, John M. Swomley, Jr., since 1947, and know him personally to be strongly anti-Communist. Indeed, he has himself followed a policy of exposing Communist attempts to infiltrate peace groups. . . . Moreover, the Council itself has consistently come out against Communist totalitarianism and warned its people against involvement in Communist fronts, such as the Stockholm Peace Appeal. It has never been taken in by Soviet "peace" moves aimed at improving Russia's power position. . . .

It seems to me the Council's aims are clear and aboveboard. One might well disagree with them. In fact, I do personally. But I think it most unfair to stigmatize them in the slightest degree as Communist or disloyal.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Frederick Woltman

Appendix VI

A PETITION

To the President of the United States On Amnesty for Smith Act Victims and Postponement of Trials

Dear Mr. President:

We respectfully urge you to grant an amnesty commuting the sentences of the sixteen men and women now in prison under the Smith Act (Alien Registration Act of 1940) to time already served, and to use your influence to secure the postponement of trials in the 180 cases presently awaiting Trial Court or Appeals Court decisions under the Act.

Those who present this petition are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements in its program and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life and the desire to maintain and strengthen it.

We call attention to Supreme Court Justice Black's description of the character of the Smith Act and the trial of Communist Party leaders under it in his dissenting opinion when appeal from the convictions under it was before the Supreme Court:

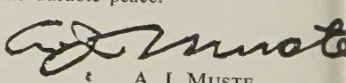
> "At the outset I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is and what it is not. These petitioners are not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government.
>
> "The charge was that they agreed to assemble and talk and publish certain ideas at a later date . . .
>
> ". . . The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government."

Recently the Supreme Court itself, by agreeing to review the California Smith Act prosecutions, has recognized the appropriateness of a "second look" at the act.

Among the sixteen for whom we are requesting a Christmas amnesty are elderly and ill persons. The indictments and convictions in these cases were carried through in a period of the "cold war" and in an atmosphere often marked by hysteria. Fortunately, in recent months conditions have changed for the better and there is a noticeable trend to reaffirm the basic democratic traditions of our country.

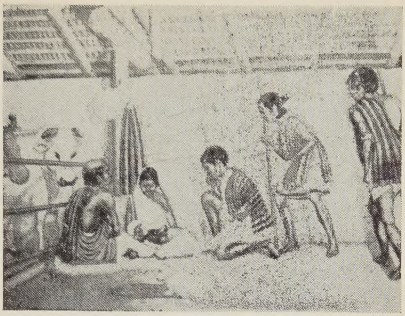
It is our conviction that your aquiescence in our request would serve to give further impetus to this healthy trend, would give proof of our confidence in democratic institutions, would encourage and inspire our friends throughout the world and win new friends. Thus, we believe, it would also contribute toward peace in the world about which you are so deeply concerned and would be in line with the policy you set forth through Secretary of State Dulles on Nov. 18, 1955:

> "I know that no setback, no obstacle to progress will ever deter this Government and our people from the great effort to establish a just and durable peace."



A. J. MUSTE
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

3 NEW 1956 CHRISTMAS GREETINGS



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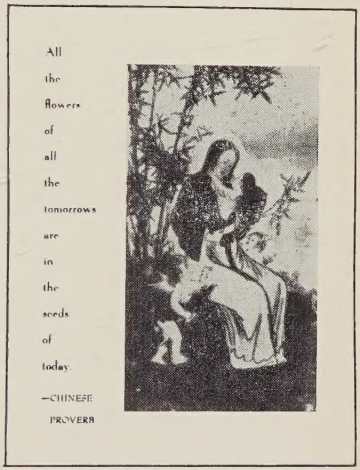

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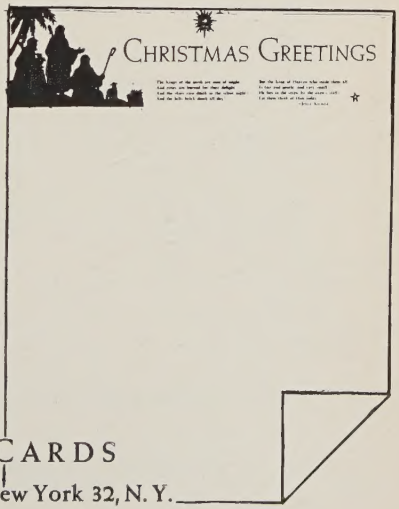

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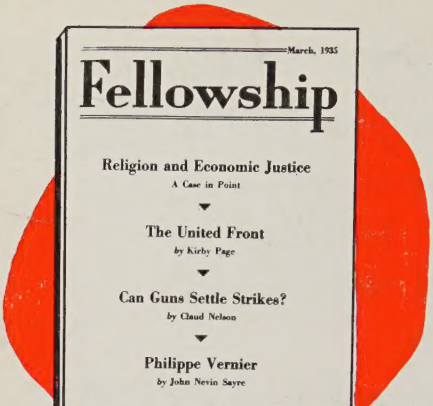

OLD ENOUGH TO VOTE

Being a magazine, **Fellowship** won't be going to the polls in November. But it's old enough—twenty-one-plus—and, in a sense, **Fellowship** will be voting on all the vital issues in the years ahead.

In fact, being a magazine, **Fellowship** has been voting since its birth in 1935. The issues have been many—the Great Depression, Hitler's rape of German democracy, the Moscow Trials—yet even as an infant, **Fellowship** took its stand. Whether confronting world issues or the home-grown violence of strikes and lynchings, **Fellowship** was a credit to its parent, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which had been striving against war and violence since 1915.

Fellowship spoke out against the horror of total war in 1939-1945. It played no favorites, singled out no whipping boy. It condemned the American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki no less vehemently than the atrocities of the totalitarian death camps.

Born in the era of Hitler and Stalin, **Fellowship** has reached "voting age" in the epoch of the H-bomb, peacetime conscription and the permanent war economy. With tension flaring into violence sporadically throughout the world, **Fellowship** casts its vote for the way of peace taught by Jesus. We hope **Fellowship** gets your vote, too.

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